UNIVERSAL
WORLD HISTORY

# UNIVERSAL WORLD HISTORY

VOLUME EIGHT

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
Metropolitan New York Library Council - METRO

http://archive.org/details/universal08hamm

**SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

Written June 10-28, 1776 by Thomas Jefferson, debated July 1 through 3, passed July 4, it was signed at first only by two of the delegates. Not until November 4 was the last signature, Thornton's, attached. Yet it gave birth to a great nation.

*(From Trumbull's painting in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington)*

# UNIVERSAL WORLD HISTORY

WRITTEN BY ONE HUNDRED FIFTY OF THE FOREMOST LIVING AUTHORITIES IN ALL BRANCHES OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

EDITED BY

J. A. HAMMERTON

*Nearly 3000 Photographic Illustrations—Hundreds of Specially-Made Maps and Plans—Pronouncing Index of More Than 10,000 Entries—Classified List of Maps and Plans*

---

VOLUME EIGHT

Pages 2167-2476

THE PRIMACY OF FRANCE

1660-1815

New York

WISE & CO.

MCMXXXIX

Copyright 1937
Copyright 1939
WM. H. WISE & CO.

CHRONICLES I-V, CHAPTERS 1-36, COPR. 1927, 1928 BY THE AMALGAMATED PRESS
CHRONICLES VI-XXXIV, COPR. 1935 BY WM. H. WISE & CO.
CHAPTERS 37-174 COPR. 1937, CHRONICLE XXXV, COPR. 1939 BY WM. H. WISE & CO.
CHRONICLE XXXV, CHAPTER 174 COPR. 1939 BY WM. H. WISE & CO.
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

# TABLE OF CONTENTS—VOLUME EIGHT

PAGE

Color Plate: Signing of the Declaration of Independence . . *Frontispiece*
Select Bibliography . . . . . vii

---

CHAPTER

**EIGHTH ERA. The Primacy of France, 1660-1815**

**CHRONICLE XXVI** The Age of Louis XIV: 1660-1713 . . . . . 2169

131. India Under the Moguls . . . . . 2191
*By Demetrius C. Boulger*

132. Buccaneer and Pirate: A Phase of Sea History . . . . . 2209
*By E. Keble Chatterton*

133. The Birth of Modern Science . . . . . 2217
*By Sir William C. Dampier, F.R.S., D.Sc.*

134. The France of Louis Quatorze . . . . . 2228
*By Prof. Roger H. Soltau*

**CHRONICLE XXVII** Development of the Great Powers . . . . . 2245

135. The Russia of the Romanovs . . . . . 2267
*By Prof. C. Raymond Beazby, D.Litt., F.R.G.S.*

136. The Germany of the Eighteenth Century . . . . . 2280
*By W. Harbertt Dawson, Hon. D. Phil.*

**CHRONICLE XXVIII** The American Colonies Become a Nation: 1763-1789 . . . . . 2298

137. Colonial Life in North America . . . . . 2331
*By James Truslow Adams, LL.D., Litt.D.*

138. Classicism in Literature and Art . . . . . 2348
*By Prof. C. H. Herford, Litt.D., F.B.A.*

139. Thought and Thinkers of the Eighteenth Century . . . . . 2357
*By Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, P.C.*

**CHRONICLE XXIX** The French Revolution and Napoleonic Age: 1789-1815 . . . . . 2371

140. Ethics and Economics of the Revolution . . . . . 2399
*By H. D. Dickinson*

141. The Men Who Made the French Revolution . . . . . 2419
*By Prof. Emile Bourgeois, D.-ès-L.*

142. Napoleon: His Aims and Achievements . . . . . 2433
*By Prof. J. Holland Rose, Litt.D.*

143. John Wesley and Nonconformity . . . . . 2447
*By Sydney G. Dimond*

144. English Life in the Eighteenth Century . . . . . 2457
*By Arthur J. Ireland*

# SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHRONICLES XXVI-XXVII
1660-1763

DURUY, VICTOR, Histoire de France, 22nd ed., 2 vols., 1908
DYER, T. H., Modern Europe, Vols. I-IV, 3rd ed., 1901
GARDINER, S. R., History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 4 vols., 1903
History of the Great Civil War, 4 vols., 1893
GRANT, A. J., The French Monarchy, 2 vols., 1905
HASSALL, A., The Balance of Power, 1908
LAVISSE, ERNEST, Histoire de France, Vols. V-VIII, 1900-11
LAVISSE, E., and RAMBAUD, A. N., Histoire générale, Vols. III and IV, 1893-1901
MICHELET, J., Histoire de France, new ed., Vols. IX and X, 1879
MORFILL, W. R., Russia, 6th ed., 1904
SEELEY, Sir J., Expansion of England, 1884
Growth of British Policy, 1903
WAKEMAN, H. O., The Ascendancy of France, 1910
Europe 1598-1715, 1901

CHAPTER CXXXI

*INDIA UNDER THE MOGULS*

BERNIER, FRANCOIS, Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668, trs. S. Brock, 1891
BINYON, LAURENCE, Court Painters of the Great Mogul, 1921
BIRDWOOD, Sir GEORGE C. M., Relics of the Honourable East India Company, 1909
FIRISHTAH, MUHAMMAD KASIM IBN HINDU SHAH, History of Dekhan, trs. J. Scott, 2 vols., 1794
FOSTER, Sir WILLIAM, A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the E. India Company, 1907
Early Travels in India, 1921
GLADWIN, F., Ayeen Akbery, 1897
LEYDEN, JOHN, and ERSKINE, W. Memoirs of the Emperor Babur, ed. A. S. Beveridge, 1912
ROE, Sir T., and FRYER, Dr. J., Travels in India in the 17th Century, 1873
TAVERNIER, J. B., Travels in India, trs. V. Ball, 2nd ed., 1925

CHAPTER CXXXII

*BUCCANEER AND PIRATE: A PHASE OF SEA HISTORY*

CHATTERTON, E. KEBLE, The Romance of Piracy, 1914
DAMPIER, WILLIAM, Voyages, ed. John Masefield, 2 vols., 1906
GOSSE, PHILIP, The Pirates' Who's Who, 1924
A General History of the Pirates, 1925
JAMESON, J. F., Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period, 1926
JOHNSON, Capt. CHARLES, A General History of the Pirates, ed. A. L. Hayward, 1926
PRICHARD, A. H. C., The Buccaneers, 1927
RINGROSE, BASIL, The Dangerous Voyage and Bold Attempts of Capt. Bartholomew Sharp, 1923

CHAPTER CXXXIII

*THE BIRTH OF MODERN SCIENCE*

BALL, W. W. ROUSE, An Essay on Newton's Principia, 1893
A Short Account of the History of Mathematics, 3rd ed., 1901
BERRY, ARTHUR, A Short History of Astronomy, 1898
BREWSTER, Sir DAVID, Life of Sir Isaac Newton, ed. W. T. Lynn, 1875
BRIDGES, J. H., The Life and Work of Roger Bacon, 1914
BROAD, C. D., The Philosophy of Francis Bacon, 1926
BRODETSKY, S., Sir Isaac Newton: a Brief Account of his Life and Work, 1927
BUCK, A. H., The Dawn of Modern Medicine, 1920
The Growth of Medicine, 1917
BUCKLEY, H., A Short History of Physics, 1927
BURTT, E. A., The Metaphysical Foundation of Modern Science, 1925
DAMPIER-WHETHAM, C. and M., Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Science, 1924
FAHIE, J. J., Galileo, his Life and Work, 1903
FORBES, GEORGE, History of Astronomy, 1921
HART, I. B., Makers of Science, 1923
LEVINE, I., Francis Bacon, 1925

McCurdy, Edward, Leonardo da Vinci's Note Books, 1906
Miall, L. C., History of Biology, 1911
Osler, Sir W., The Evolution of Modern Medicine, 1921
Snow, A. J., Matter and Gravity in Newton's Physical Philosophy, 1926
Taylor, Henry Osborn, The Mediaeval Mind, 4th ed., 1925
Thorpe, Sir T. E., History of Chemistry, 1909
Whitehead, Alfred N., Science and the Modern World, new ed., 1927

Chapter CXXXIV

*THE FRANCE OF LOUIS QUATORZE*

Baird, H. M., The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 2 vols., 1895
Boulenger, Jacques, The Seventeenth Century, 1920
Bourgeois, Emile, Le Grand Siècle, 1896
Clark, Alexander F. B., Boileau and the French Classical Critics, 1925
Grant, Arthur James, The French Monarchy, Vol. II, 1894
Hassall, Arthur, Louis XIV, 1895
St. Simon, L. de Rouvroy, duc de, Memoirs, trs. F. Arkwright, 1915
Sanders, Ella K., Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, 1921
Sargent, Arthur John, The Economic Policy of Colbert, 1899
Soltau, R. H., Pascal: the Man and the Message, 1927
Strachey, G. Lytton, Landmarks in French Literature, 1923
Tilley, A. A., Molière, 1921
Truc, G., Jean Racine, 1926
Voltaire, F. M. A. de, The Age of Louis XIV., trs. M. P. Pollack, 1926

Chapter CXXXV

*THE RUSSIA OF THE ROMANOVS*

Beazley, C. Raymond, and others, Russia from the Varangians, 1918
Bestujev-Ryumin, K. N., Geschichte Russlands, ed. T. Schliemann, 1873
Bruckner, Alex, Katerina II, 1883
Peter der Grosse, 1879
Herberstein, Sigismund Von, Notes upon Russia, trs. and ed. R. H. Major (Hakluyt Soc.), 1851
Karamzin, N. M., Histoire de l'Empire de la Russie, trs. St. Thomas and Jauffret, 1819-26
Klyuchevsky, V. O., History of Russia, trs. C. G. Hogarth, 1926
Morfill, W. R., Russia (Story of the Nations), 1890
Pierling, Father Paul, Rome et Démétrius, 1878
La Russie et l'Orient, 1891
Rambaud, Alfred, Histoire de la Russie, 5th ed., 1900
Schiemann, Theodor, Russland . . . bis im 17ten Jahrhundert, 1886-7
Veer, Gerritt de, Three Voyages by the North-East, ed. C. T. Beke (Hakluyt Soc.), 1853

Chapter CXXXVI

*GERMANY OF THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY*

Biedermann, Karl, Deutsche Volks- und Kulturgeschichte, Vol. III, 1891
Boehn, M. U. von, Deutschland im 18ten Jahrhundert, 1921
Dawson, W. H., The Evolution of Modern Germany, new ed., 1919
Freytag, G., Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit, 17th ed., 4 vols., 1887
Goethe, V. W. von, Poetry and Truth: from my own Life, trs. M. S. Smith, 2 vols., 1908
Gostwick, J., German Culture and Christianity, 1882
Humboldt, W. und C., Briefe aus der Brautzeit, 1906
Kaemmerer, L., Chodowiecki, 1897
Lamprecht, K., Deutsche Geschichte, 14 vols., 1891-1909

Chronicle XXVIII

*THE AMERICAN COLONIES BECOME A NATION*

Abbott, W. C., The Expansion of Europe, 2 Vols., 1924
Alvord, C. W., The Mississippi Valley in British Politics, 2 Vols., 1917
Andrews, C. M., Colonial Background of the American Revolution, 1924
Beard, C. A., An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, 1913
Becker, C. L., The Beginnings of the American People, 1915
Fisher, H. A. L. The Republican Tradition in Europe, 1911
Hayes, C. J. H., Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, 2 Vols., 1930-35, Vol. I

JAMESON, J. F., The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, 1926
MCLAUGHLIN, A. C., Constitutional History of the United States, 1935
VAN TYNE, C. H., The History of the Founding of the American Republic, 2 Vols., 1922-29

CHAPTER CXXXVII

*COLONIAL LIFE IN NORTH AMERICA*

ANDREWS, C. M., Colonial Folkways: A Chronicle of American Life in the Reigns of the Georges, 1920
ANDREWS, C. MCL., The Colonial Period, 1912
BUTLER, N. M., Building the American Nation, 1923
CALHOUN, A. W., A Social History of the American Family, 3 vols., 1917-19
CRESSWELL, N., The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell (1774-1777), 1924
WINSOR, JUSTIN, Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. VIII, 1889

CHAPTER CXXXVIII

*CLASSICISM IN LITERATURE & ART*

BRUNETIERE, FERDINAND, L'Evolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature, 1890
CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, Vols. IX and X, 1912-13
CROCE, B., European Literature in the 19th Century, 1924
ELTON, OLIVER, The Augustan Ages, 1899
GRIERSON, H. J. C., Classical and Romantic, 1923
HERFORD, C. H., The Essential Characteristics of the Romantic and Classical Styles, 1880
SPINGARN, J. E., A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance, 5th ed., 1925

CHAPTER CXXXIX

*THOUGHT AND THINKERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY*

ADAMSON, ROBERT, Development of Modern Philosophy, ed. W. R. Sorley, 2 vols., 1903
LAURIE, HENRY, Scottish Philosophy in its National Development, 1902
MORLEY, J., Rousseau, 1886
Critical Miscellanies, Vol. II, Turgot, 1886
Voltaire, 1886
MORNET, DANIEL, La Pensée française au XVIIIe siècle, 1926
SORLEY, W. R., A History of English Philosophy, 1920
STEPHEN, LESLIE, History of English Thought in the 18th Century, 2 vols., 3rd. ed., 1902
UEBERWEG, FRIEDRICH, History of Philosophy, trs. G. S. Morris, 2 vols., 5th ed., 1910
ZELLER, EDUARD, Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Leibniz, 2nd ed., 1875

CHRONICLE XXIX

*THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC AGE: 1789-1815*

BOURGEOIS, EMILE, Modern France, 2 vols., 1919
FYFE, C. A., History of Modern Europe, 1910
LAVISSE, ERNEST, Histoire de France contemporaine, Vols. 1-8, 1920-21
ROSE, J. HOLLAND, Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1901

CHAPTERS CXL AND CXLI

*ETHICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE REVOLUTION AND MEN WHO MADE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION*

AULARD, F. A., Histoire politique de la Révolution, 1901
BARTHOU, L., Mirabeau, 1913
BELLOC, H., Danton, 1899
BOISSONADE, P., Les Etudes relatives à l'histoire économique de la Révolution, 1906
CARON, P., Paris pendant la Terreur, 1910
CLAPHAM, J. H., The Abbé Sieyès, 1912
DICKINSON, G. L., Revolution and Reaction in Modern France, 1892
HELIE, F. A. T., Les Constitutions de la France, 1875-9
HIGGS, H., The Physiocrats, 1897
LAPRADE, W. T., England and the French Revolution, 1909
LENOTRE, L. L. T. G., Paris in the Revolution, trs. H. N. Williams, 1925
The Tribunal of the Terror, trs. F. Lees, 1909
MADELIN, L., La Révolution, 1911

Mallet, M. G., La politique financière des Jacobins, 1913
Mathiez, Albert, La Révolution française, 3 vols., 1921-27
Morley, J., Diderot and the Encyclopedists, 1886
Roustan, M., Les Philosophes et la société française au XVIIIe siècle, 1911
Sagnac, P., and Pariset, G., La Révolution, 1920-26
Sorel, A., L'Europe et la Révolution française, 8 vols., 1906
Taine, H. A., Les Origines de la France contemporaine, Vols. I-VI, 1880
Thompson, J. M., Leaders of the French Revolution, 1929
Warwick, C. F., Robespierre and the French Revolution, 1909

## Chapter CXLII

### *NAPOLEON: HIS AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS*

Fisher, H. A. L., Napoleon Bonaparte, 1913
Ludwig, Emil, Napoleon, trs. E. and C. Paul, 1927
Rose, J. Holland, Life of Napoleon, 9th ed., 1927
Personality of Napoleon, new ed., 1929
Rosebery, A. P. Primrose, 5th Earl of, Napoleon: the Last Phase, new ed., 1922
Sloane, W. M., Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, 4 vols., 1910
Young, N., Napoleon in Exile, 1915

## Chapter CXLIII

### *JOHN WESLEY AND NONCONFORMITY*

Dimond, S. G., The Psychology of the Methodist Revival, 1926
Fitchett, W. H., Wesley and His Century, 1906
Overton, J. H., The Evangelical Revival in the 18th Century, new ed., 1900
Simon, J. S., John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism, 1923
The Revival of Religion in the 18th Century, 1907
Southey, Robert, Life of John Wesley, ed. M. H. Fitzgerald (Oxford ed.), 2 vols., 1925
Wesley, John, Journal, ed. N. Curnock, 8 vols., 1909-16
Whitefield, George, Journals, ed. W. Wale, 1905
Workman, H. B., and Others, New History of Methodism, 2 vols., 1909

## Chapter CXLIV

### *ENGLISH LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

Ashton, J., Social England Under the Regency, 1899
Chancellor, E. B., The 18th Century in London, 1920
The Pleasure Haunts of London During Four Centuries, 1925
Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl Letters to His Son (Navarre Soc.), 1926
Ditchfield, P. H., Old English Sports, Pastimes and Customs, 1891
George, M. Dorothy, English Social Life in the 18th Century, 2 parts, 1923
London Life in the 18th Century, 1925
Hayward, A. L., A Complete History of the Most Notorious Highwaymen, 1926
Phillips, M., and Tomkinson, W. S., English Women in Life and Letters, 1926
Turberville, A. S., English Men and Manners of the 18th Century, 1926

# *Eighth Era*

# THE PRIMACY OF FRANCE

## 1660—1815

### CHRONICLE XXVI—The Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1713


CHAPTER

131. India under the Moguls *Demetrius C. Boulger*
132. Buccaneer and Pirate: A Phase of Sea History *E. Keble Chatterton*
133. The Birth of Modern Science *W. C. D. Dampier, F. R. S.*
134. The France of Louis Quatorze *Roger H. Soltau*


### CHRONICLE XXVII—Development of the Great Powers, 1713-1789


135. The Russia of the Romanovs *Prof. C. Raymond Beazley*
136. The Germany of the Eighteenth Century *W. H. Dawson*


### CHRONICLE XXVIII—The American Colonies Become a Nation, 1763-1789


137. Colonial Life in North America *James. Truslow Adams, Litt.D.*
138. Classicism in Literature and Art *Prof. C. H. Herford, Litt.D.*
139. Thought and Thinkers of the Eighteenth Century *Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson*


### CHRONICLE XXIX—The French Revolution and Napoleonic Age, 1789-1815


140. Ethics and Economics of the Revolution *H. D. Dickinson*
141. The Men who Made the French Revolution *Prof. Emile Bourgeois, D.-ès-L.*
142. Napoleon: His Aims and Achievements *Prof. J. Holland Rose, Litt.D.*
143. John Wesley and Nonconformity *Sydney G. Dimond*
144. English Life in the Eighteenth Century *Arthur J. Ireland*


During the century and a half preceding the moment at which our era opens, the main troubles of the European states, international and internal, arose from religious animosities. That phase has passed. In the new era, beginning with the personal autocracy of Louis XIV and ending with the downfall of Napoleon, continental politics revolve round French ambitions; while all Europe is dominated in thought, art, literature and manners by France. But it is also the era in which Great Britain establishes her supremacy on the seas and eliminates French rivalry in India and America, though paying a heavy price in the loss of her American colonies; the era in which first the Ottoman power is broken, then the Russian empire is created by a barbarian of genius, and then Prussia thrusts her way into the front rank of the European powers. And it ends as the period of the great social and political upheaval of the French Revolution, and of the first stage of the no less momentous economic revolution wrought by the invention of power-driven machinery.

# TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXVI

A.D.
1660 Louis XIV m. Maria Teresa; takes control on Mazarin's retirement.
Restoration of Charles II in England.
Treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen.
1661 Ahmed Kiuprili grand wazir.
England acquires Bombay from Portugal.
1662 Colbert's financial, maritime and colonial policy inaugurated in France.
1664 New Amsterdam surrendered to English, becomes New York.
1665 Second Anglo-Dutch war.
Portuguese independence established.
1667 Anglo-Dutch Treaty of Breda.
Milton's Paradise Lost.
1668 Triple Alliance of England, Holland and Sweden.
Louis accepts Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1669 Fall of Candia ends Turco-Venetian war.
Poland: John Casimir, the last Jagellon, abdicates. Michael Wiesnowiecki elected k.
La Salle begins his exploration of Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley.
1670 Secret Treaty of Dover (Louis and Charles II).
1671 Rise of Louvois, superseding Colbert.
1672 Louis and Charles declare war on Dutch; murder of the De Witts. French advance checked by opening the dykes.
Turks, at war with Poland, checked by John Sobieski.
1673 Dutch form defence league with Germany.
Molière d.
Marquette and Joliet descend the Mississippi.
1674 John Sobieski king of Poland.
Turenne's campaign in Alsace. French seize Franche Comté.
1675 Tököli's insurrection in Transylvania.
The Great Elector, Frederick William, defeats superior Swedish force at Fehrbellin.
1676 Kara Mustafa succeeds Ahmed Kiuprili as grand wazir.
India: Aurangzib revives poll-tax on Hindus.
1677 Spinoza d.
1678 Treaty of Nimwegen (Nimeguen), marking the height of Louis' power.
1679 Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye deprives the Great Elector of the fruits of his victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin.
Louis sets up the Chambers of Reunion to enforce French interpretation of disputed questions in the Rhineland.
1680 India: Sivaji founder of the Maratha power d.
Charleston, S. C., founded.
1681 Breack between Louis and the pope. Louis begins persecution of Huguenots.
Louis occupies Strassburg.
1682 Russia: Acc. Ivan V and Peter (the Great; the government in the hands of Sophia.
William Penn establishes a colony at Philadelphia.
1683 Kara Mustafa lays siege to Vienna; John Sobieski comes to the rescue, joins Charles of Lorraine, and shatters Turkish army.
Colbert d.
1684 Corneille d.
1685 Revocation of Edict of Nantes; great emigration of fugitive Huguenots.
England: Charles II d.; acc. James II.
1686 League of Augsburg among German princes
1687 Parthenon at Athens accidentally destroyed.
Publication of Isaac Newton's Principia.
Charles of Lorraine defeats Turks at Mohacz.
1688 English statesmen of all parties invite intervention of William of Orange.
Louis attacks Palatinate by advice of Louvois. William lands in Torbay; James flees to France leaving throne vacant.
1689 William III and Mary II proclaimed king and queen in England and Scotland.
1689 Ireland: siege of Derry by Jacobites.
League of Augsburg becomes Grand Alliance.
Imperialists take Belgrade from Turks.
Russia: Peter displaces Sophia.
1690 William defeats Irish Jacobites on the Boyne.
French defeat English fleet off Beachy Head.
1691 Capitulation of Limerick.
Louvois d.
1692 Decisive English naval victory at La Hogue.
1694 Turks recapture Belgrade.
Voltaire b.
1696 Peter the Great takes Azov from the Turks.
Allies recapture Namur.
1697 Treaty of Ryswick (a set-back for Louis).
Eugène's victory over Turks at Zenta.
Peter the Great's journey in western Europe.
Charles XI of Sweden d.; acc. Charles XII.
1698 Augustus of Saxony elected king of Poland.
1699 Northern league against Charles of Sweden.
Racine d.
1700 Charles XII routs Russians at Narva.
1701 Louis takes possession in Spain, Netherlands and Italy; William draws together new Grand Alliance.
Frederick of Brandenburg crowned first k. of Prussia.
1702 Allies declare war. William d.; acc. Anne.
Marlborough captain-general of British and Dutch in Netherlands; Eugène commands for the allies in Italy.
Charles XII invades Poland.
1702-1713 Queen Anne's War between the French and English, largely in North America.
1703 Marlborough pushes France back in Netherlands.
French campaign on the Danube spoiled by attempt to master Tyrol; but Vendôme forces Eugène back to the Alps from Italy.
1704 Marlborough concerts Blenheim campaign with Eugène. While the French armies are massing on the Danube, he throws himself between them and Vienna and wins decisive battle of Blenheim.
Rooke captures Gibraltar.
1706 Marlborough wins Ramillies; Eugène drives French out of N. Italy by victory of Turin.
Charles XII imposes treaty of Altranstadt on Augustus of Saxony.
1706-7 Union of England and Scotland.
1707 French under Berwick win Almanza against English under Earl of Galway.
India: Aurangzib d. Disintegration of Mogul Empire sets in.
1708 Marlborough wins Oudenarde. British under Stanhope capture Minorca.
Charles XII invades Russia.
1709 Marlborough's last victory at Malplaquet.
Charles XII, defeated at Pultava, escapes to Turkish territory, where he remains.
Augustus of Saxony recovers Polish crown; renewed attack on Swedish territories.
1710 Turks declare war on Peter.
Conference at Gertruydenburg fails.
Victories of Vendôme in Spain.
1711 Fall of Whigs and recall of Marlborough.
Peter is granted peace by the Turks, and joins in dismembering Sweden.
1713 Peace of Utrecht.

# THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV: 1660—1713

In 1660 Louis XIV, being twenty-one years of age, took over into his own hands the control of France from Mazarin, and married the eldest daughter of the king of Spain. For the next fifty years his ambitions dominated all the international relations of Europe; and, apart from political rivalries, France became, during his rule, the dictator or the model of all Europe in thought, in art, in literature and in manners. Mazarin had completed the work of Richelieu. France was consolidated and her government centralized as it had never been before. Her armies were led by the two greatest captains of the age; her frontiers had been extended and strengthened; she held the passage to Italy, the passage to Spain and the entry to Germany; her diplomatists were unequaled; she had no rivals who could contemplate aggression against her.

### France Safe from Foreign Aggression

Nevertheless this position did not satisfy the inordinate egotism of Louis XIV. From the outset he was determined to make good the old French claim on Franche Comté and the new French demand for the "natural" boundary on the Lower Rhine, in other words the possession of the Spanish Netherlands, to which France had no pretense of a title. Beyond that was the determination to dominate Europe, making Holland and the western German principalities into dependencies of France.

### Colbert's Financial Reforms

Louis' immediate concern was the further internal consolidation and development of France herself. The man for the work was Colbert.

The restoration of the national finances was his first task. Strict supervision was once more the order of the day, and a development of industries much more vigorous than under Sully. While he was allowed his own way, the wealth of France increased rapidly—though it was presently to be dissipated on his master's grandiose schemes. Two things no man could do: redistribute the burden of taxation with any approximation to justice, because the classes that were practically immune, the nobles and the clergy, were too strongly entrenched to yield up their privileges; and break down the barriers to internal trade which local short-sightedness persisted in maintaining—though here a real advance was made by the development of groups of communities adopting free trade between themselves, greatly to their advantage.

Louis' marriage with the Spanish Infanta, Maria Teresa, was a stroke of policy on the part of Mazarin which provided the king with a starting point for his ambitions. The heir to the Spanish throne was a sickly little boy, the son of Philip's second wife. Maria Teresa was the daughter of his first wife. There were no brothers. But in certain provinces of the Netherlands succession went to the children of the first wife, whether boys or girls, in priority to any children of a second marriage. On this principle Louis chose to argue that when Philip died the succession in the Netherlands would go, of right, to his wife, not to the boy Carlos, though in Spain the right of the latter was of course indisputable.

King Philip died in 1665, having just married his second daughter, Margaret Teresa, to the emperor Leopold. If the boy king should die without issue she, not Maria Teresa, would be his heir, because the latter's resignation of all right of succession in Spain had been a condition of her marriage to Louis.

But Philip's death gave Louis his opportunity for putting forward his claim in the Netherlands. Diplomacy naturally failed. In 1667, at the moment when Dutch and English were coming to terms, he dropped diplomacy and sent Turenne to take forcible possession of the Netherlands in what is known as the War of Devolution. Turenne's suc-

## SCENE OF THE CONFLICTS THAT DISTRACTED EUROPE DURING THE REIGN OF THE GRAND MONARQUE

Aggressions in the Netherlands occupied Louis XIV from 1660-78, and the shifting of the frontier effected in that period is shown in the upper inset. Further ambitions involved him in the war of the Spanish Succession, ending in his abasement by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). In central Europe a dominant incident was the westward expansion of Turkey as far as Vienna from which the Empire was delivered by Sobieski of Poland. In the northeast there was conflict between Russia and Sweden.

cess was so rapid and complete that England, Holland and Sweden took alarm, and formed a Triple Alliance to induce Louis by force, if diplomatic pressure failed, to make peace with Spain on reasonable terms. Louis meanwhile had taken his own measures. A surprise invasion of Franche Comté gave him complete mastery there; he had secured the neutrality of the German princes, and made a secret compact with Leopold as to an ultimate partition of the Spanish dominions. So with a fine display of magnanimity he acceded to the demands of the Triple Alliance, restoring Franche Comté, but retaining in the Netherlands an almost impregnable chain of fortresses stretching from Dunkirk to Charleroi.

**ABSOLUTE MONARCHY**

Louis XIV was born September 5, 1638, and became king in 1643. This portrait by Nicholas Mignard was painted in 1663, when the king was in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

*Engraving by Kühner*

The next step was to be the domination of Holland. There the republican government of De Witt had held the house of Orange in depression for twenty years; its restoration to power in the person of the young William would place the country practically at the disposal of his restorer, the king of France. The English fleet would be useful; William was the English king's nephew; Charles had domestic projects of his own which he could only carry out by his cousin's financial aid, and was quite ready for a bargain, though its terms could not be confided to his ministers. The bargain was duly struck, and in 1672 France and England declared war on the Dutch Republic.

Unfortunately for the scheme, an internal revolution overturned and murdered the De Witts and made William stadtholder and captain-general. Instead of securing a dependant, Louis by attacking Holland had raised up the implacable foe who wrecked his ambitions. The English fought the Dutch by sea; neither could decisively beat the other, and Charles took the earliest opportunity to extricate himself from the conflict. The French fought the Dutch by land, and William turned the sea itself upon them by opening the dykes.

Moreover, Louis' aggressive aims were now so thoroughly unmasked that Frederick William of Brandenburg took alarm and drew together a coalition to resist France. From 1673 to 1678 France was fighting almost single-handed against a circle of foes, who, happily for her, had no unity of plan and no generals in any way comparable with Turenne. She won victory after victory even after Turenne was killed in 1675; the fleet Colbert had created even beat the Dutch; but against such odds the victories could mean no more than that she was holding her own with a small margin of advantage. Both sides became exhausted; William and William alone was set upon a fight to a finish, and in Holland itself his popularity was waning under the tremendous strain. One after another of the belligerents dropped out, making their separate terms. The group of treaties which terminated the war are known as the Peace of Nimwegen, or Nimeguen (1678).

France alone had achieved solid gains, which were mainly at the expense of Spain. She took Franche Comté and added to the number of her fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands. She had proved the adequacy of her military organization to face odds which ought to have overwhelmed her. In the hour of his triumph the monarch on entering his capital was enthusiastically hailed as

PHILIP IV OF SPAIN

Philip IV (1605-65) became king of Spain in 1621, but delegated the administration to Olivarez and other favorites, devoting himself to sport, pleasure and dilettantism. He was a patron of Velasquez, who painted this portrait of him.

*The Louvre; photo, Giraudon*

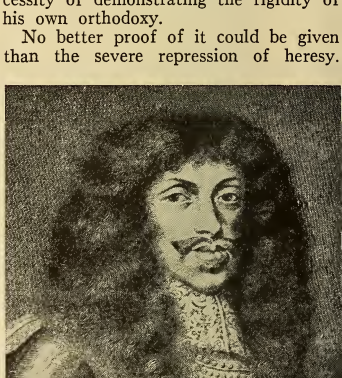
Louis the Great. Had he died then, posterity might have endorsed the title.

**Louis at the Zenith of his Career**

But Louis was not satisfied with his achievement; as concerned Holland at least, he had created not a dependency but an irreconcilable enemy, and that enemy had just married the heiress presumptive to the throne of England. Colbert's influence had waned and that of the great militarist minister of war, Louvois, was in the ascendant. For a time, however, Louis abstained from further military adventures, effecting his aggressions by pacific methods.

Now, the only policy of Henry IV and Richelieu in the rivalry to the Hapsburg power had been to unite the forces of Protestantism with a France posing as the champion of toleration, in opposition to the aggressively Catholic Hapsburgs. The Hapsburgs were no longer aggressive Catholics; the religious question had ceased to be an international cause of quarrel; but Louis went out of his way to revive it by the religious policy he pursued in France—making himself appear as the zealous enemy of Protestantism while the Hapsburgs could assume the tolerationist rôle. In so far as regards the religious policy that he saw fit to adopt, it is sufficient to remark here that it opens upon a conflict with the Papacy, on the question of authority in the Gallican church, which conflict in Louis' eyes imposed upon him the necessity of demonstrating the rigidity of his own orthodoxy.

No better proof of it could be given than the severe repression of heresy.



LEOPOLD I

The reign of Leopold I (1640-1705), German king and emperor, was spent in continual resistance to the aggressions of Louis XIV. He was father of the Austrian and grandfather of the Bavarian claimants to the Spanish succession.

*Engraving by Bartholomäus Kilian*

Louis attacked the Huguenots, first by excluding them from the public services, then by further penalizing measures, especially the "dragonnades," and finally by revoking the Edict of Nantes altogether (1685). These measures had no countenance from the Papacy; they did not draw Catholic princes to the side of the king of France; but they did excite extreme alarm and hostility in every Protestant state. The small West German principalities set about forming a secret defensive league, which was presently to develop into the European League of Augsburg.

In the same year died Charles II, the "Merry Monarch." The Stuart restoration meant in the result the restoration at once of the prestige of the crown and the authority of parliament. For twenty years Charles, masking consummate political astuteness by an apparently reckless frivolity, strove to recover the effective power of the crown, and did actually in the end recover it for himself, but only on a basis in which there could be no permanence—his own French pension, the purchase price of his overt or covert support of Louis' designs. But the king's power to levy taxes had gone for ever, the parliament's claim to control expenditure as well as taxation was secured, and no future minister charged with misconduct could hope to find shelter from punishment by pleading the king's orders.

LOUIS XIV CROSSING THE RHINE

This picture by Joseph Parrocel shows Louis XIV fording the Rhine at Tolhuis, June 12, 1672, on his way to join Condé's forces in the Dutch campaign. Although in Napoleon's estimation a fourth-rate military operation, this incident provided the subject for numerous poems and paintings.

*The Louvre; photo, Archives photographiques*

**The Carolinas Are Settled**

During Charles' reign new colonies were established in America. A piece of territory cut from Virginia was given to eight royal favorites and called Carolina in honor of the king. Colonists from Virginia had already settled in the northern part of the grant, called Albemarle, and in 1670 the proprietors of Carolina began a settlement two hundred miles south of Albemarle, near the present site of Charleston.

The proprietors planned to establish a feudal system of government in their new possession. The English philosopher, John Locke, drew up a constitution for Carolina known as the Grand Model. It provided for a colonial parliament. Of course the eight proprietors were to be at the head of the nobility. Under them were to be lesser nobles, and so on down until at the very bottom came the serfs, who were to be attached to the soil like the agricultural laborers of the Middle Ages. The proprietors could not force the Grand Model on the settlers, for nobody wanted to be a serf when there were other English colonies where they could go, procure a piece of land, and be their own masters.

So the Grand Model had to be laid

aside, and in order to attract desirable settlers, the proprietors promised religious freedom, liberality in government, and generous land grants. Settlers came from the New England colonies, Virginia, the West Indies, and France. In 1685 France expelled the French Protestants and many of these exiles found refuge in America. They went to various English colonies, but by far the greater number settled in the new colony of Carolina.

The northern and the southern settlements in Carolina were so far apart that the proprietors usually sent two governors to rule that colony. There were no roads through the swamps, and the only connection between Albemarle and Charleston was by the sea. In the northern settlement the farms were small and the settlers were for the most part poor. Tobacco was their chief crop, with tar and turpentine from the pine trees a second source of income. In the Charleston settlement the planters raised rice and indigo. Their plantations were large and widely separated, and were worked by negroes. In 1729 the English crown bought the colony from the proprietors and divided it into two royal provinces, South and North Carolina.

### The Quakers in Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA, like many of its sister colonies, was started because of religious intolerance at home. Of the various sects of the seventeenth century, none was treated so harshly by other Christians, both in England and in the colonies, as were the "Society of Friends," or "Quakers." The Puritans of Massachusetts, the Anglicans of Virginia, and the Dutch in New Netherland all persecuted the Quakers cruelly, and the treatment they received forms one of the most discreditable chapters in the early history

RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF NIMWEGEN BY LOUIS "THE GREAT"

With the conclusion of the Dutch War in 1678 Louis XIV was definitely arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Peace was made with the United Provinces by the Treaty of Nimwegen (Nimeguen), signed August 10, 1678, a historical event commemorated in this painting by Charles Le Brun. A second treaty was signed with Spain, Sept. 17, 1678; and on Feb. 5, 1679, Leopold accepted Louis' terms. The pacification was completed by supplementary treaties with Brandenburg, Denmark and Sweden.

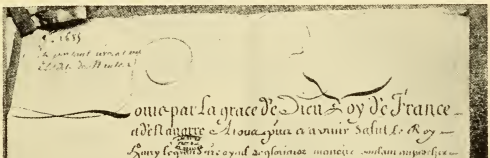
*Musée des Beaux-Arts, Budapest; photo, Hanfstängl*

of these colonies, although it must be admitted that the colonists had some provocation.

William Penn, an influential and wealthy English Quaker, received a large tract of land on the Delaware River as part payment for a debt which the king owed him. Penn thereupon decided to establish a colony where people of his own religion could prosper, as well as live in religious peace. In 1682 Philadelphia was laid out and colonists came flocking into the Quaker settlement. Penn searched for settlers on the Continent as well as in England, and before long many different nationalities were represented in Pennsylvania.

Charles was succeeded by his brother, James II, an avowed Romanist, whose intention of restoring Romanism in England was very soon manifesting itself. James' heiress was his Protestant daughter Mary, the wife of William of Orange, who was also his nephew and stood next to her and her sister Anne in the line of the English succession. To William England would certainly turn if James carried his Romanist policy too far—since the late king's illegitimate son Monmouth, William's only possible rival, perished on the scaffold after an abortive rebellion before James had been six months on the throne. With a modicum of tact James could have procured a considerable extension of toleration for Romanists and a secure position as a constitutional monarch; he flung his chances away by reverting to arbitrary methods and alienating the stoutest of the crown's traditional supporters, the high Anglicans, lay and clerical. If James persisted in alienating his subjects it was in the interest both of James and of Louis that William should be too thoroughly occupied elsewhere to answer any appeal for intervention in England—an appeal which was at once made, on the unexpected birth of a son to King James in 1688: half England believed that the thing was a shameless fraud for the provision of a Roman Catholic heir.

So Louis reckoned that the time had come for him to strike before the League of Augsburg, and he opened his attack not on Holland but on the Palatinate, avowedly in order to maintain the claim of his own favored candidate for the archbishopric of Cologne against the candidate favored by Leopold and nominated by the pope.



**REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES**

The wise policy of religious toleration inaugurated by Henry IV of France was reversed by Louis XIV, and after 1681 repressive measures were enforced against the Protestants culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October 17, 1685. Above is the preamble of the decree signed by Louis XIV.

*Archives Nationales*

Holland was secure for the moment. William sailed for England; James took flight to Paris, and both England and Scotland offered their crowns to William and Mary. The offer was accepted (February, 1689) on the terms—the "Declaration of Right"—which thenceforth became the statutory textbook of British constitutional principles. Party government was inaugurated, and the annual meeting of parliament for the voting of supplies and the continuance of the small standing army, the independence of the judges, and the new system of national finance, the national debt and the Bank of England, all acquired during his reign a permanent place in the law and practice of the constitution.

For three years William was engaged in establishing himself in his new kingdom. The Jacobites (James's supporters) rose in Scotland under "Bonnie Dundee,"

FAMOUS FRENCH STATESMAN

This engraving by Lubin shows Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), whose persistent endeavors to effect financial reform in France were nullified by the heavy national expenditure which his sovereign's ambitions incurred.

*Photo, W. F. Mansell*

but after his fall in the hour of victory at Killiecrankie (1689) the rebellion broke down completely. Ireland was for the most part in arms for James, but after the defeat of his forces at the battle of the Boyne James went back to France. His supporters held out heroically in the south, but with the capitulation of Limerick (1691), resistance collapsed and was made impossible for the future by the penal laws which rendered the Catholic population helpless.

In that year William was able to return to Holland; in 1692 he was again in command of the Dutch armies. Hitherto the French fleet had more than held its own against the British, but in 1692 it suffered defeat in the battle of La Hogue, after which the English and Dutch fleets held complete command of the seas.

THE attack on the Palatinate had set William free for the English adventure, because it at once brought upon Louis the attack of the entire circle of his enemies. France was without a single ally; she was actually on the defensive from the outset. Her fortresses had been made virtually impregnable by the great engineer Vauban, but between her and Holland lay another chain of fortresses which had been made equally impregnable by Cohörne. The French generals won brilliant victories in the field but could turn them to no further account.

After Seignelai's death in 1690 the artificial navy of France began to be neglected and did not survive the defeat of La Hogue. Louvois died in 1691, leaving to Louis the purely military policy which no successor could carry on with equal efficiency. After William's return to the front the struggle went on drearily, but with little enough prospect of decisive success on either side. Both sides were becoming exhausted and weary of indecisive battling; and the war was brought to a conclusion by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.

THE peace definitely meant the defeat of Louis. He had to give up all that had come into his hands since Nimwegen except Strassburg; he had to allow the Dutch to garrison a chain of frontier fortresses within the Netherlands; and he had lost his control in Lorraine. Also he had to withdraw his support from the exiled Stuarts (James II and his son James), and to recognize William as king of England and the succession as laid down in England.

### Events in Northern and Eastern Europe

THE battle with Louis had not been the only concern of Europe during the thirty-seven years since the Treaty of Oliva. Turkish aggression had been as menacing in the East as French aggression in the West; and modifications of great importance for the future had been taking place in the position of the Baltic states.

Throughout these years the "Great Elector" Frederick William was laying the foundations of the power of the future kingdom of Prussia, until his death on the eve of the War of the League of Augsburg, in 1688; he left Brandenburg the best ordered state in Europe. In the

War of the League of Augsburg his son and successor, Frederick, played his part respectably but without distinction. Thirteen years after the Great Elector's death Frederick achieved his great ambition and was allowed to assume the title of king of Prussia (1701).

Sweden joined the Triple Alliance of 1668, but was as ready as Charles II of England to sell herself to Louis; paying the penalty in her conflict with Brandenburg, but reaping the inglorious fruits when the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye followed that of Nimwegen, in 1679. Denmark, which had now sunk to insignificance, had seized her opportunity during the war to attack Sweden, but was defeated—and owed her defeat to the unexpected energy of the young king Charles XI. Charles devoted the remaining years of his reign, till his death in 1697, to the development of industry and commerce. The boy who succeeded him on the throne, Charles XII, was of an altogether different type.

TRIUMPH OF FIERCE INTOLERANCE

Savage satire distinguishes this Dutch medal commemorating the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The obverse shows the pope riding a monster that devours a man, woman and child, and supported by a Jesuit and a dragoon. On the reverse a woman swings from a gibbet and others are being maltreated.

*British Museum; photo, Oxford University Press*

JAMES II OF ENGLAND

It was the firm determination of James II, a zealous Roman Catholic who succeeded in 1685, to secure toleration for his co-religionists and to catholicize the government. His scheme failed, and he fled the country in 1688.

*Painting by J. Riley, National Portrait Gallery*

In Poland John Casimir abdicated in 1669. There was no successor of his house; the Polish crown was theoretically elective, and from this time the "Polish succession" was an endless bone of contention. On this occasion the choice of the Polish nobles fell upon one of their own number, Michael Wiesnowiecki; five years later he was succeeded by John Sobieski (1674-97).

The great reviver of Turkish aggression, the wazir Mohammed Kiuprili, died in 1661, and was succeeded in office by his son Ahmed, at the time when he was aiming at the subjection of Transylvania, and the Transylvanian patriots were appealing to Leopold for support. In 1664 Ahmed was heavily defeated by Leopold's general Montecuculi at the battle of St. Gothard (on the Raab); but the peace of Vasvár which followed was a diplomatic triumph for the defeated commander.

Ahmed, temporarily checked in Hungary, next set about the completion of the reduction of Crete, which the fall of

ENGLAND'S "MERRY MONARCH"

The Stuart line was restored to the English throne in 1660 in the person of the amorous intriguing Charles II. His sardonic features are cleverly reproduced in this bust by Honoré Pellé dated 1684, the year before the king's death.

*Victoria and Albert Museum*

Candia in 1669 transferred from Venice to the Ottoman empire. This being accomplished, Poland, where Michael had just been elected, was the Turk's next objective. Here he was occupied till his death in 1676 in fighting with John Sobieski. The war ended just before Ahmed's death with the peace of Zuravno, which John was forced to accept—his brilliant feats of arms being more than counterbalanced by the enormously greater forces at the disposal of the Turks.

Meanwhile Leopold had been engaged in a contest of his own in Hungary, seeking to establish his effective autocracy in defiance of the traditional liberties and rights of the Magyar aristocracy, and at the same time zealously persecuting the Hungarian Protestants. But he failed to bring the Hungarian insurgents under Tököli to subjection, and when the peace came he found he had driven Tököli into the arms of the Turk.

Ahmed Kiuprili had been succeeded by his kinsman Kara Mustafa, whose ambition aimed at nothing less than Vienna. In the spring of 1683 a vast Turkish host was assembled on the Drave. In July Vienna was invested. The garrison held out valiantly, but the field army under Charles of Lorraine could not engage the enormously superior forces of Mustafa. The rescue came from Poland. John Sobieski, whose name was held in terror by the Turks, effected a junction with Charles of Lorraine, and on September 12 fell upon the besieging army and put it utterly to rout. Vienna was saved.

The delivery of Vienna was the turning of the tide. Kara Mustafa paid for his failure with his life. Some years passed before the Turks again came under the capable direction of another Kiuprili, Mustafa. They were continuously pressed back on the Danube by the imperial troops, while the Venetians reconquered the Morea and captured Athens (at the woeful cost of the destruction of the Parthenon), though their hold there could not be kept for long. Imperial Hungary recognized the hereditary title of the Hapsburgs to the crown; Transylvania acknowledged the Hapsburg suzerainty, and the Turkish power was broken in Turkish Hungary as the result of another battle of Mohacs.

In 1689 Mustafa Kiuprili became wazir, and Louis in the west had opened battle with the League of Augsburg.

Again Leopold and the German princes were distracted between the needs of the war in the east and of the war in the west. Belgrade was captured and lost again. Hungary was stirred up anew. Then, on the one side Kiuprili was killed, and on the other Lewis was withdrawn to the western war, his place being taken by the young "Augustus the Strong" of Saxony. In 1697 the western war was

**WILLIAM OF ORANGE LANDING AT BRIXHAM AT THE REVOLUTION**

Growing detestation of James II led to some influential noblemen dispatching an invitation to William of Orange to "bring over an army and secure the infringed liberties of England," and on November 5, 1688, he landed at Brixham in Torbay. An inscription on the picture (part shown here) by an unknown artist in Hampton Court Palace gives the date of the event incorrectly, but otherwise the details are accurate as far as can be judged and the painting is a valuable document.

*By permission of the Lord Chamberlain*

JAMES II'S FLIGHT TO FRANCE

Romeyn de Hooghe's engraving shows James II escaping from the land that had wearied of his arbitrary methods and called in William of Orange in his stead. The embarcation here depicted represents the king's second, and successful, attempt at flight to the Continent, which was connived at by William.

ended by the peace of Ryswick, John Sobieski died and the Polish diet bestowed the crown upon Augustus the Strong; and the Turkish war was carried on under the leadership of a captain who was now emerging from the second to the first rank, the landless Prince Eugène of Savoy (of a junior branch of the ducal house), who had placed his sword at the service of Leopold after it had been declined by Louis.

Before the year was out Eugène utterly shattered the Turkish forces at the decisive battle of Zenta, and in January, 1699, the Treaty of Carlowitz ended the Turkish war. The Ottomans still held Belgrade and the neighboring province called the Banat of Temesvar; otherwise they were driven completely out of Hungary. Venice held the Morea, and Azov was ceded to the young Russian tsar who had taken it—Peter the Great. At last Russia had come on the field as a European power. Ottoman aggression was never again a serious menace.

EUROPE was now face to face with a long impending problem. King Carlos of Spain was childless and sickly; his life could not last much longer. Who, then, was to inherit the great Spanish dominion, which included Sicily, the greater part of Italy, and the Netherlands, besides half the world on the other side of the Atlantic? No indisputable law of succession could be produced which would meet the case: even if there had been an indisputable law, half the

REBEL CLAIMANT TO THE ENGLISH THRONE

James duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II, sought to succeed his father on the throne in 1685; but being defeated by superior forces at the battle of Sedgmoor he was captured and executed at the order of James II. This portrait of him after death was painted by Sir G. Kneller.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

states in Europe were so deeply concerned that the law would inevitably have been challenged.

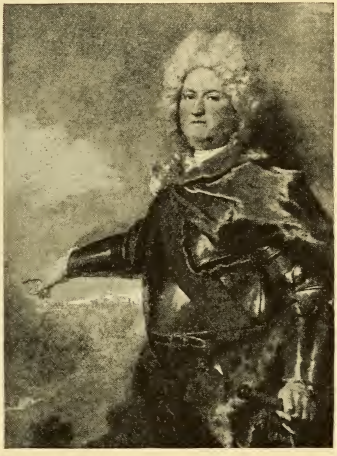
The king's sisters had been married to the reigning king of France and the reigning emperor respectively. His father's sisters—there were no brothers in either generation—had been the mothers of those two monarchs respectively. The two French queens had formally resigned their rights of succession, the two empresses (both younger sisters) had not; while in other respects the terms of Maria Teresa's marriage had not been carried out, and Margaret Teresa's daughter had been required to resign the rights descending to her on her marriage to Max Emmanuel, the elector of Bavaria. On the other hand, no bar could be raised (save these questionable prior claims) to the claim of the emperor Leopold himself and his sons by a later marriage.

Such was the problem as a question of law. As a question of public expediency Europe could not afford to allow that whole vast dominion to be added to the dominions of either the Hapsburg emperor or the Bourbon king, or even to pass to a Hapsburg or a Bourbon cadet. Public expediency and the dubious answer to the question of law both called for compromise and partition—the partition which would be least disturbing to the European balance of power. But a partition was precisely the thing to which the Spanish monarchy itself would not consent.

It was Louis who had the wisdom to take the initiative in seeking a settlement by consent before the crisis—the death of Carlos—should actually arrive. Leopold, Louis and their heirs apparent being obviously out of the question from a European point of view, any partition would have to be arranged between three claimants—the infant son of the elector of Bavaria, the younger son of Leopold (the archduke Charles) and the younger grandson of Louis (Philip duke of Anjou). In 1698 Louis and William agreed upon the first Partition Treaty.

From the Anglo-Dutch point of view, the fundamental matter was that the French claimant should not acquire the Netherlands or naval domination in the Mediterranean. From the European point of view, the balance of power would be least disturbed if the electoral prince of Bavaria acquired the bulk of the inheritance. On these lines Louis and William made their treaty. They had hardly done so when the electoral prince died of smallpox.

The partition must then be made anew, between the archduke Charles and Philip of Anjou—a much more difficult matter; yet agreement was reached in



**GREAT FRENCH ENGINEER**

Sebastian Le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707) attained fame in the wars of Louis XIV by his genius in supervising the defenses of the French fortresses, having more than 160 under his charge. This painting is by Largillière.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Giraudon*

the second Partition Treaty. Spain, the Indies and the Netherlands were to go to Charles, Italy (except the Milanese) to Philip. Leopold would not accept the treaty, which was signed by France, England, Holland and some minor states. Carlos would not hear of any partition, made a will leaving everything to Philip, or to the Archduke Charles if Philip refused the whole, and died (1700). Louis tore up the treaty and accepted the whole inheritance on behalf of his grandson Philip.

The Spaniards were with Louis.

French troops occupied the Netherlands and reinforced those in Spain and Italy. England was out of temper with her Dutch king; no one except Leopold was ready to challenge the accomplished fact or to support Leopold so long as he claimed the whole inheritance. But throughout 1702 William's diplomacy was negotiating a league to enforce the partition which would give the Netherlands and the Sicilies at least to Charles; while Leopold started fighting in Italy on his own account.

William succeeded; Leopold came in; England was converted by finding that Louis had no thought of opening commerce with the Spanish dominions, and by his theatrical declaration of his intention of restoring the son of the dying James II to the throne of his fathers. Once more the great fight with France was to be renewed. At that moment he died and Anne became queen of England (March, 1702); but a man abler than William himself was there to carry on William's policy, that being John Churchill, who was then earl and soon to be duke, of Marlborough.

In Louis' previous wars France had always fought single-handed against coalitions of varying magnitude. In the War of the Spanish Succession France and Spain were united with the Spanish resources under French control, and with a valuable ally in the elector of Bavaria, as well as the duke of Savoy at the start. On the side of the Grand Alliance which William had built up Austria was at last free from the incubus of the Turkish war and the Hungarian troubles, while from the outset the Maritime powers, England and Holland held complete command of the sea; and the allies possessed in Marlborough and Eugène generals of a far higher quality than any who had appeared since Turenne.

**UNFORTUNATE TURKISH WAZIR**

Mohammed IV's grand wazir, Kara Mustafa, had more ambition than capacity. His grandiose scheme to form a Moslem empire in the west was frustrated by his defeat by Sobieski at Vienna, and he was beheaded at Belgrade in 1683.

*Engraving by J. Cole*

### Campaigns of the War of Spanish Succession

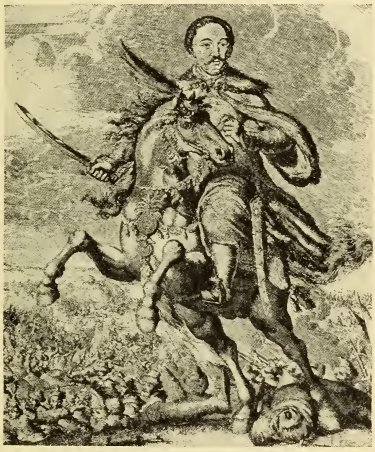
EUGENE had already opened the war by a clever campaign in North Italy in 1701-2; but he was too heavily outnumbered and was gradually pushed out. Lewis of Baden kept watch on the French armies in Alsace. Marlborough on the Netherlands frontier, pushed the French back till he had succeeded in clearing the lower Rhine of the opposing forces as far as Coblenz.

In 1703 the French command planned a junction with the Bavarian forces on the upper Danube, and a march on Vienna. But at this moment Savoy went over to the allies, while Portugal, hitherto neutral, also joined the alliance and inspired it with an unfortunate hope of ejecting Philip from Spain, where he had been welcomed with open arms, and setting up Charles as "Carlos III."

In the next year, 1704, came the great crisis of the war. France poured troops into the Netherlands, to pin Marlborough the more firmly to that region; the French force was increased in Bavaria under Marsin, to be joined later by Tallard from Alsace. Between Vienna and the accumulated army in Bavaria

there was no force which could hold it up, and when Vienna should fall Louis could dictate his own terms to the allies. But the program was wrecked by the genius of Marlborough and the brilliant coöperation of Eugène. Marlborough's plan was a lightning march across Germany which would place him between the Bavarian army and Vienna. To effect it, he must not only have Eugène with him, but must hoodwink the French commanders and the English and Dutch governments as to the real objective that lay behind his movements.

There was to be a grand campaign on the Moselle. Marlborough moved up the Rhine to Mainz in May and the world had hardly realized that the Moselle campaign was a mere blind when he was storming the lines of Schellenberg (July 2) and capturing Donauworth, blocking the way to Vienna and threatening the kingdom of Bavaria.



TERROR OF THE TURKS

The relief of Vienna, invested by a vast Turkish host, was accomplished by the brilliant generalship of John Sobieski, king of Poland, in 1683. He was a son of the castellan of Cracow.

*From Erdmannsdörffer, "Deutsche Geschichte"*

**Marlborough's Victory at Blenheim**

Six weeks later (August 13) the armies faced each other at Blenheim, and while the main attack was being apparently developed against the Franco-Bavarian left by Eugène, and a secondary English attack on their right at Blenheim, the real blow was being prepared against the weakened center by making passable the marshy ground which was supposed to be adequate cover for its front. On that point then the cavalry crashed suddenly, pierced it, and rolled up the lines to right and to left. The army which was to have won the war at a stroke was virtually annihilated. Bavaria lay at the mercy of the allies, and the French were barred behind the Rhine for the rest of the war.

A few days earlier it had occurred to Admiral Rooke, commanding an Anglo-Dutch squadron, to capture Gibraltar; which did not again pass out of British possession, and served with Minorca, captured four years later, to furnish a permanent British naval base at the gate of the Mediterranean.

The next year, however, saw no material advance. Marlborough in the Netherlands continued to be hampered by the Dutch field-deputies, and Eugène, back in Italy, by the studied inertness of Savoy. The allies, moreover, were frittering away their energies on the futile effort to conquer Spain. But 1706 brought two great successes: Marlborough won at Ramillies a battle, the effect of which was to sweep the French back from the Netherlands to the line of fortresses on the frontier of France itself; while Eugène shattered the French forces before Turin. The French were practically cleared out of North Italy, and in the south an insurrection at Naples enabled Austrian troops to occupy the city and proclaim King Charles. The general situation had hardly been affected by the death of Leopold in 1705 and the accession of his elder son, Joseph I.

**Last Battles and the Treaty of Utrecht**

After Ramillies and Turin, Louis was ready to treat for peace, but the

triumphant allies would listen to no terms. In 1707 hostilities were partly suspended by the threatened intervention of Charles XII of Sweden, but he was persuaded to turn his arms against Russia. In 1708 there were general revolts of the French-speaking populations in the Netherlands against the Dutch government set over them after Ramillies; and the French were gaining ground rapidly till they again suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Marlborough at Oudenarde.

Louis again opened negotions, but the only terms to which the allies would listen were that he should help them to drive his grandson out of Spain. The result was a magnificent rally of French patriotism, leading up to the last great engagement of the war and the last of Marlborough's victories, the battle of Malplaquet (1709), in which the French were driven off the field but not out of their lines at La Bassée, and the losses of the allies were much the heavier.

**PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY**

Possessing a genius for the art of war, Prince Eugène of Savoy (1663-1736) had a glorious military career. His name is closely linked with that of Marlborough, with whom he coöperated during the War of the Spanish Succession.

*Engraved by J. Smith after D. Richter*

The only common object which the allies now had in view was the humiliation of France. Intriguing took the place of fighting. The most successful wire-pullers were the astute politicians at the head of the Tory party in England, who procured the recall and downfall of Marlborough, made their own bargain behind the backs of their allies, and finally shaped the Treaty of Utrecht which ended the war in 1713.

By that treaty the Bourbons retained much in the surrender of which they would have acquiesced after Ramillies or Oudenarde, and to which William would have acquiesced in 1701. The Bourbon king Philip was established on the Spanish throne, with a formal renunciation of any possible claim that might arise to the succession in France. Savoy got Sicily—afterwards exchanged for Sardinia—with the regal title. Charles got the Netherlands, Sardinia, Naples and Milan (he was now the emperor Charles VI, his brother Joseph having died two years before). Holland got a chain of "barrier fortresses" in the Netherlands. Frederick I, son of the Great Elector, was recognized as king of Prussia by all the powers. Great Britain retained Gibraltar and Minorca, and acquired Acadia or Nova Scotia from France and certain trading rights known as the "asiento" in the South Seas from Spain, and obtained the recognition of the Protestant succession to the throne when the reigning Queen Anne should die.

### Incorporating Union of England and Scotland

ENGLAND and Scotland were still two independent kingdoms when Anne succeeded William in 1702, though their union under one crown was a guarantee against actual armed conflict between them. For Scotland's commercial prosperity, a commercial union with her neighbor was a necessity which England

had no disposition to concede. England, however, had repudiated the succession of the next legitimate heir to the throne; Scotland was free to recognize it on Anne's demise. That climax England could not afford to risk; the price she had to pay for security was an incorporating union; and that measure was carried by the parliaments of both countries, not without hot opposition in Scotland, in 1706, taking effect in 1707; conveying to the electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs the succession to the crown of Great Britain, while Ireland remained a dependency with a subordinate parliament in the control of the Protestant minority.

**EXPLOSION THAT SHATTERED THE PARTHENON**

In 1687 the Venetians, under Morosini, laid siege to Athens, which had been in Turkish possession since 1458. One of the besiegers' shells fell among a Turkish powder supply stored in the Parthenon and caused the explosion here depicted. The middle of the temple and its side columns were destroyed.

*From Fanelli, "Atene Attica"*

### Contemporary Events in Russia

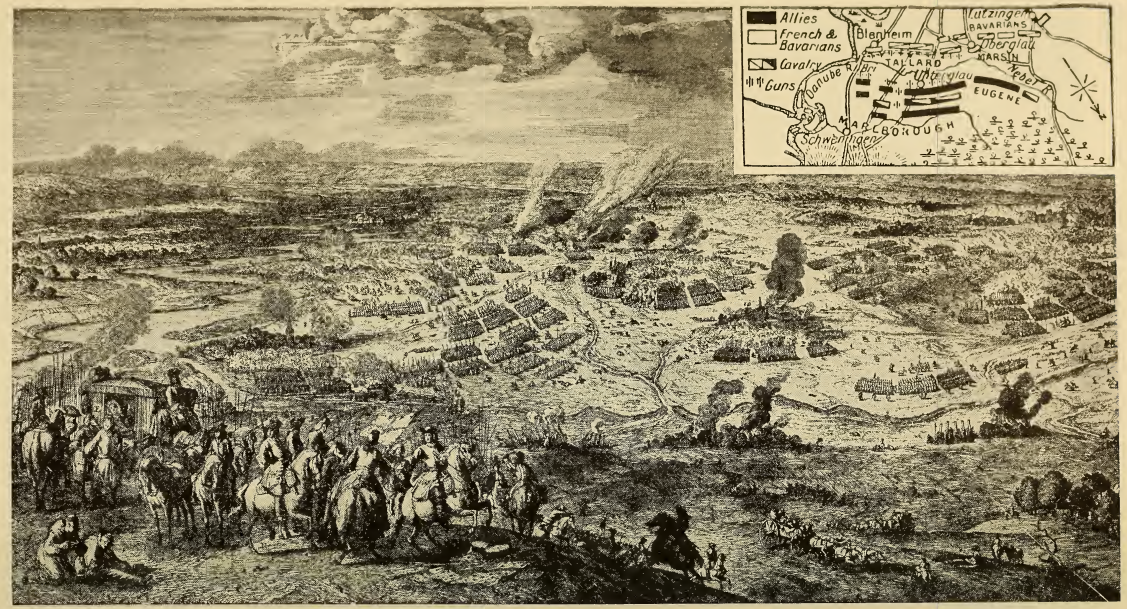
In Russia the first Romanov, Michael, had been succeeded by his son Alexis in 1645. Alexis was followed by Feodor, 1676-82, on whose death his two young brothers Ivan and Peter were recognized as joint tsars, but the reins of government were actually grasped by their extremely energetic elder sister Sophia. In 1688 Sophia was removed by a coup d'état; Ivan was imbecile, and Peter began his reign at the age of sixteen, still under the tutelage of the men who had deposed his sister. Russia joined in the war in which the Turks were being beaten back by the imperial forces, and the young tsar took an active part in the siege and capture of Azov in 1696, an acquisition which Russia retained at the treaty of Carlowitz. The Azov campaign opened the effective autocracy of Peter the Great, the founder of the Russian power.

Peter, realizing that Europe was far in advance of Russia, conceived the daring notion of remodeling Russia upon Western lines. The Turkish war was no sooner off his hands than he set out on a journey of investigation, saw with his own eyes and practiced with his own hands the methods which had given the European nations their mastery and returned to Russia in 1698 intent on filling the old bottles with the new wine.

As a matter of course, the tsar must be an unqualified autocrat; and the first step was the suppression of the imperial guard, the Streltsi—the equivalent of the Janissaries of the Turk or the Prætorians of the old Roman Empire. Peter also set about revolutionizing social habits, religious customs and political traditions in a characteristically drastic way. But almost immediately opportunity arose for the territorial aggrandizement, a project which was no less dear to his ambitions.

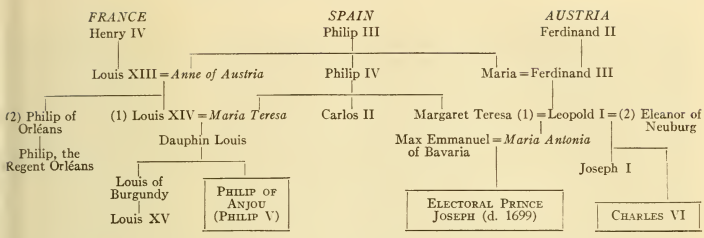
Charles XI of Sweden died in 1697, having laboriously reconstructed the power of the crown. Charles XII was a boy of sixteen, already a mighty hunter, but unversed in affairs of state. The exiled Livonian patriot Patkul easily drew Frederick of Denmark, Augustus of Poland and Peter of Russia into a common plot for the redistribution among themselves of Sweden's Baltic provinces. Next year (1700) the triple attack was opened—by Denmark on Holstein, by Augustus on Riga, by Peter on Narva.

They had reckoned without their host. Charles was a born fighter and a born




**PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM, MARLBOROUGH'S GREAT VICTORY**

This engraving by J. van Huchtenburgh, chosen by William III to record Marlborough's battles, gives a bird's eye view of the field of Blenheim about the moment of Marlborough's delivery of the winning blow. His army is in the center of the picture with the village of Blenheim in the left foreground. The Austrians, under Eugène of Savoy, are at the extreme right. By a cavalry charge Marlborough pierced the Franco-Bavarian line, advanced upon Blenheim and cut off the retreat of the garrison. Marshal Tallard was captured and is shown in Marlborough's carriage.




## GENEALOGICAL TABLE SHOWING CLAIMANTS TO THE SPANISH THRONE

This table explains the genealogical relationships on which the French, Austrian and Bavarian aspirants to the Spanish throne based their claims. The names of the princesses who resigned their rights to it upon marriage are given in italics, while those of the three claimants appear in capitals. Attempts at a partition were defeated by Louis XIV's acceptance of the Spanish king's will leaving the entire inheritance to Philip of Anjou; and the War of the Spanish Succession ensued.

leader who inspired his followers with his own reckless courage. Charles and his Swedes flung themselves at Copenhagen; Frederick was allowed to back out of the war ignominiously. Augustus retreated from Riga. Charles with 8,000 men crossed the Baltic and routed 60,000 Russians at Narva. Peter did not shine on the occasion, but his comment was characteristic: "The Swedes will beat us—but they will teach us how to beat them."

### Achievements of Charles XII of Sweden

When Charles had reduced Livonia and Courland to obedience, he devoted himself to the punishment of Augustus of Poland and Saxony. Just after Ramillies a quarrel with the emperor almost induced Charles to join in alliance with Louis, but Marlborough's diplomacy persuaded him that he would be better employed in punishing the tsar.

So, like a greater than he in 1812, Charles in 1708 marched for Moscow. Peter had learned his lesson too well to seek him in a pitched battle, but harassed his rear and his line of march, cutting off supplies. In the spring (1709) he marched on Pultava and laid siege to it, though his troops were insufficient and he had neither supplies nor a siege train. Peter's time had come. In June he fell upon the exhausted Swedes with an immensely superior force and annihilated them. Charles, with a wounded foot, barely escaped, and crossed the Turkish frontier, where he remained for the next five years, while Augustus and Peter worked their will on the Baltic provinces.

Charles without an army was powerless; he succeeded, however, in persuading the Turkish wazir to declare war on Peter in 1710. Peter campaigning on the Pruth, found himself at the mercy of the Turkish army, but was allowed to conclude a peace (1711) on no harder terms than the cession of Azov and the razing of Russian forts on Turkish soil. The further adventures of Charles and Peter belong to our next chronicle.

### Developments in America and South Africa

Beyond the oceans developments were in progress during the reign of Louis XIV, of which the profound importance was not yet fully manifest. In North America the English settlements multiplied; the first of Charles II's Dutch wars in 1664 transferred the Dutch settlement on the Hudson—to be known thenceforth as New York—from the Dutch to the English, giving the latter the entire coast line between the French Acadia on the north and Florida on the south. The French colony on the St. Lawrence expanded to the Great Lakes, in rear of the northern British colonies; but the treaty of Utrecht gave Acadia to the British and recognized the

**ANNE, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN**

Anne (1665-1714), younger daughter of James II, succeeded William III in 1702. This portrait by Michael Duhl shows her at the age of thirty, with her son William, duke of Gloucester, who died when ten years old.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

British ownership of Newfoundland, as well as of sundry West Indian islands.

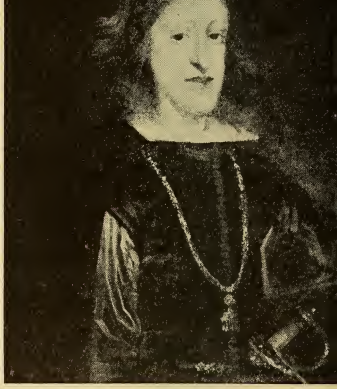
In South Africa, the Dutch had started the Cape Colony; and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes supplemented the Calvinistic Dutch population there with a considerable number of co-religionists, fugitive Huguenots from France.

### The Rise of Anglo-French Rivalry in America

QUEBEC was started in 1608 merely as a trading post, but within a few years the desire of the French government to strengthen its claim to the northern part of the continent, and the enthusiasm of a new order of Catholic missionaries—the Jesuits—who used Quebec as the center for religious work among the Indians, combined to make it an important settlement.

The Algonquin tribes about Quebec were friendly from the beginning to the French, and they soon adopted Catholicism. The Hurons to the west were less easily converted, but they were grateful because the French soldiers helped them against their foes, the Iroquois, and many of them accepted Christianity. Unfortunately for the French, their aid to the Hurons brought on them the deadly hatred of the powerful Iroquois Confederation, the most warlike and best organized association of the Indians in eastern North America. The territory of the Iroquois lay across the direct route to the Hudson River valley, and their hostility to the French protected the Dutch, and later the English settlers from French invasion.

In spite of the Iroquois, the French found it comparatively easy to penetrate the West, because the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes were natural highways. Joliet, a fur-trader, and Father Marquette, a Jesuit priest, followed the water-route through Lake Michigan and the Fox River to the Mississippi River in 1673. La Salle, one of the most ad-



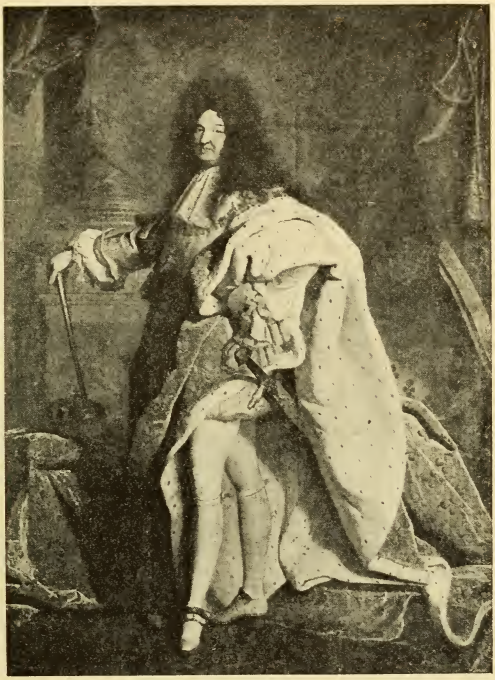
**CARLOS II OF SPAIN**

The extreme delicacy of Carlos II (1661-1700), king of Spain, is apparent in this portrait by Coello Claudio. His childlessness made the Spanish succession a question of intense interest to the monarchs of contemporary Europe.

*Prado, Madrid; photo, Anderson*

venturous of the French explorers, reached the mouth of the Mississippi in the year 1682. Because of these explorations France claimed all the Mississippi valley, besides the valley of the St. Lawrence and the entire Great Lakes region. Following in the footsteps of these explorers came the fur-traders and the Jesuit missionaries, and trading-posts and mission stations were soon established at widely scattered points over this great region.

The entire French colonial empire in America was based on the trade with the Indians, in which manufactured articles, especially guns and brandy, were exchanged for beaver skins. The frontiersmen in the English colonies also were vitally interested in the fur trade, and much of the prosperity of the merchants in the seaport towns depended on it. Then too, the English settler had reason to fear Indians, equipped with French muskets, excited by French firewater, and inspired to hatred of "the heretics" by French missionaries. It must not be forgotten, however, that not a few Indians were equipped with English muskets, excited by English firewater, and inspired to hatred by English trading methods. Further, the English fought as much for beaver skins as for peace for its own sake. It is hard to see how war between the French and English in America could have been avoided much longer, even if William III, whose accession meant that the Catholic Pretender to the English crown must be supported by France, had not come to the throne.



"LE ROI SOLEIL" AT THE AGE OF 63

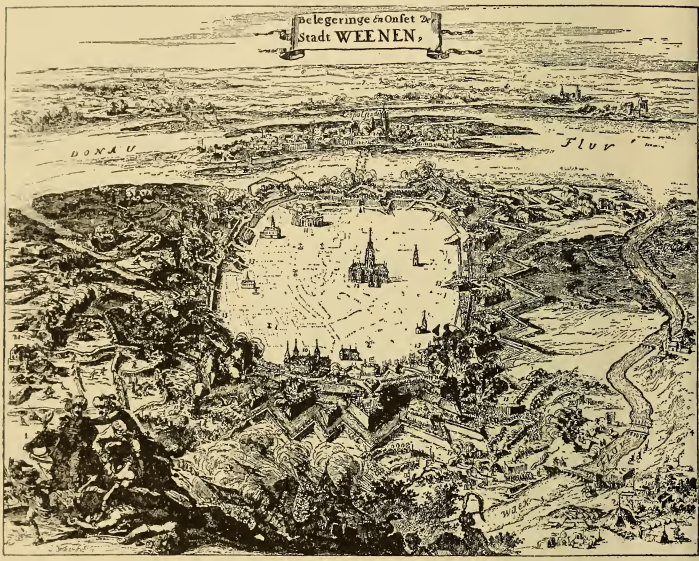
This portrait of Louis XIV in 1701 by Rigaud is in the Louvre. It shows the "Grand Monarque" when the zenith of his power was past. His inordinate ambition and aggressions had raised up enemies on every side and in the War of Spanish Succession they combined to defeat and humiliate him.

### Contemporary Events in the East

In India the last really powerful Mogul, the emperor Aurangzib, reigned from 1658 to 1707; expanding his sovereignty over the entire peninsula, but in the process insuring disintegration. The expansion made the empire uncontrollably unwieldy, and moreover, Aurangzib departed from the policy of the three princes who had ruled for a hundred years before him, and reverted to that of the old Delhi emperors, by depressing the Hindus and treating Mohammedans, whatever their origin, as of

a dominant, conquering race, reviving the old-time hostility between the two religions which his fathers had sought at least to reduce to a minimum. A result was the vigorous development of the Hindu Maratha tribes in the western Deccan, whom Aurangzib's lieutenants failed to crush, and of a reformed Hindu sect, united as a brotherhood half religious and half military, the Sikhs, who, for the most part, were located in the Punjab and Sirhind.

But at the same time the French, under Colbert's influence, entered upon the competition, mainly with the English, for the trade with India, which in the middle of the eighteenth century was to issue in a hard-fought duel. The rivalry was there, but the battle had not yet opened.




## PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS

This plan, engraved by C. Decker and published in Amsterdam in 1683, shows the siege of Vienna in progress. Contingents of Turks are attacking on all sides and there are strong Turkish entrenchments on the banks of the Danube shown in the background of the picture. Batteries to left and right of the walls were erected by Rudiger von Starhemberg, whose gallant defence enabled the besieged to hold out until the arrival of the Poles and Germans under John Sobieski.

# INDIA UNDER THE MOGULS

## ALIEN CONQUERORS WHOSE IMPERIAL REGIME GAVE INDIA SIX REIGNS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT AND SPLENDOUR

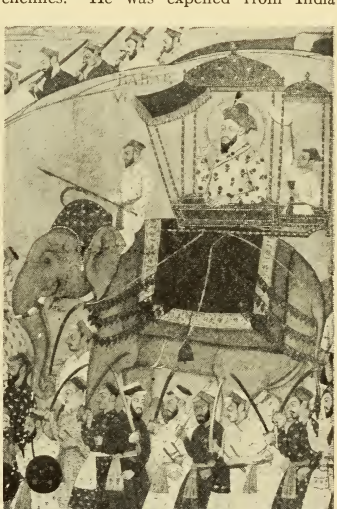
By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

*Author of The Story of India, India in the 19th Century, etc.*

INDIA had known many terrible invasions by ruthless conquerors coming through the Afghan passes before the dawn of the sixteenth century. Some of them had founded ephemeral dynasties in different parts of northern India, but most of them, after committing wholesale destruction and pillage, had returned with their spoils to the places whence they came. Among all these invaders none had left a worse name or spread greater terror than Timur, part Turk and part Mongol, who had destroyed Delhi and many of the most opulent cities of Hindustan. To the Indian peoples the name Mongol remained a term of dread, and it did not seem possible that any good could come to them from any member of that race. It was, therefore, altogether remarkable and unexpected that it should have fallen to a Mongol ruler to bring about the first union of India in modern times. We do not know whether it was due to an error in pronunciation or to the desire to mask the truth that the Indians in general converted the name Mongol into the less menacing form of Mogul.

After a remarkable career in central Asia as prince of Ferghana and ruler of Samarkand, Babar, the fifth in descent from Timur, turned his attention to India, and on five separate occasions he invaded that country, each time advancing farther, until at last he reached the borders of Bihar and Bengal. At first it did not seem that he was animated by any higher motives than his ancestor, but when he died at Agra in 1530 it was clear that he had conceived the larger and more profitable project of founding a consolidated and central government over the millions of India, leaving to his descendants the task of bringing it to a successful conclusion.

Babar's death threatened to bring his dream to naught. He had divided his dominions between two of his sons, Humayun and Kamran. To the former he assigned India, to the latter Afghanistan and the central Asian dependencies. But although Humayun had been well trained in the field and exhorted in the cabinet by his father, he had neither his resolution nor the martial spirit that had compelled the admiration of Babar's enemies. He was expelled from India



**INDIA'S FIRST MOGUL EMPEROR**

Following his victory at Panipat in April, 1526, and his capture of Delhi and Agra, Babar assumed the title of Emperor of Hindustan. This late sixteenth-century painting of the Indo-Persian school shows him riding in state.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*

AKBAR BUILDING HIS 'CITY OF VICTORY'

Akbar devoted close personal attention to the building of Fatehpur Sikri, where he took up his residence in 1571, and went on building until 1575. This picture from the Akbar-Namah of him supervising the work was the joint production of three of the court painters—Tulsi, Bandi and Madhu the younger.

*Victoria and Albert Museum*

by a rival Moslem ruler and fifteen years passed by in unceasing strife between him and his three brothers.

It was only after they had all been defeated and removed from this world that Humayun turned his attention to the recovery of India. With 15,000 Turk and Mogul cavalry he set out from Kabul in 1555 on his great adventure. His movements were rapid and his success complete. Before the year ended he was master of Delhi and of Agra. His triumph was not fully confirmed when by an accidental fall down a flight of stairs his career was cut short and the task of consolidating the Mogul power passed into the hands of his son Akbar, a youth of fourteen years.

Young as he was Akbar had already given proof of his future greatness, and he had a clear perception of what was needed to consolidate the Mogul Empire. The great merit of his administration lay in his efforts to attain financial stability; alone of all the Mogul rulers Akbar governed the country without exceeding the resources of its revenue.

He mixed freely with his ministers. Six days out of seven they sat in consultation together, and each day had its appointed subject. Although autocratic by temperament Akbar was a good listener. He loved discussion, and few were the objects of human inquiry in which he failed to take the keenest interest. He was a great reader, or rather he employed many to read to him, and his private library contained many thousands of precious manuscripts. He was a great advocate of education. He declared that every boy should read books on morals, arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of

government, theological, mathematical and physical sciences, and above all history—a list which provides a course of practical training for the realities of life to which little could be added by the modern educationist.

Akbar was also a great patron of art. He maintained eighteen of the leading artists of the day as court painters, and he invited all students to submit their works and rewarded those whose merit appealed to him. He formed a portrait gallery, and all the officers of his court figured therein. Thus, he declared, 'those of the past are kept in lively remembrance and the present are ensured immortality.' These views were remarkable in a Moslem, for the Koran forbids the delineation of the human form.

Akbar had no prejudices with regard to Europeans. The Portuguese Jesuits from Goa were received at his court and allowed free residence in his capital. They took part in the discussions by the learned on the merits of the different religions of the world, and Akbar went so far as to admit that there was much truth in the Christian religion.

He was impressed, too, with the appeal of fire worship, and at one moment he toyed with the idea of the transmigration of souls. Gradually his zeal as a Moslem waned, and he fell under the censure of the more orthodox, some of whom went so far as to call him a heretic. Tennyson said of Akbar that 'his religious tolerance and his abhorrence of religious persecution put his contemporaries, our Tudors, to shame.' His tolerance did not prevent his endeavor in his later years to found a 'mystical religion' of his own devising which allowed him to claim some of the divine attributes for himself.

Among the measures of practical administration that illustrate Akbar's reign may be mentioned the first survey of the land as the preliminary to equalising the taxes levied upon it. He freed it from all arbitrary taxes and applied a standard measure for the levy, dividing its incidence between the two harvests of the spring and the autumn. He reduced the tax on industry to five per cent. The Hindus paid no more than the Moslems. The hated poll tax was abolished. Akbar held the first census in India during modern times, and the inquiry about occupations was carried out rigidly. He established an efficient postal service maintained by camel riders. The main roads were provided with caravanserais or rest houses at short intervals. Finally he abolished the cruel rite of suttee in so

**DELHI GATE AND THE TOWERING WALLS OF AKBAR'S FORT AT AGRA**

Its situation on the Jumna gave Agra strategic and commercial importance in very early times, and in 1500 it became the capital of the Afghan Lodi dynasty. Babar captured it in 1526 and his grandson Akbar built the existing fort, an immense structure with massive red sandstone walls a mile and a half in perimeter. The walls are in two tiers, the outer 40 feet high, and the inner, turreted and loopholed, 70 feet high. A wide and deep moat surrounds the whole.

*Photo, E.N.A.*

## GROWTH OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE UNDER AKBAR AND AURANGZIB

In 1555 Akbar took part in the campaign by which Humayun recovered Delhi and Agra from Sher Shah of Berar, and on succeeding his father he subdued Bengal and made himself master of northern India from Afghanistan to the Ganges Delta. About 1600 the Mogul Empire (right) comprised the Punjab, Bengal, Malwa, Deccan and Gujarat. Aurangzib carried the Mogul domination into south India, and at his death in 1707 it had absorbed the Moslem kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda.

far as he dared clash with Hindu sentiment by making the assent of the victim obligatory, and by appointing officers to be present at the ceremony. Sometimes, it was said, he attended the scene in person to see that his orders were obeyed.

Akbar was succeeded by his son Jehangir in 1605, and the new ruler was careful to follow his father's wise and moderate policy. He refrained from costly and dubious military expeditions, and he continued to favor the Hindus and by so doing to soften the yoke of Islam. He was also tolerant to all religions. The Jesuits retained and indeed increased the influence they had acquired under his predecessor, and evidence of this was afforded in their being allowed to open a college at Agra. Jehangir even went so far as to order four of his nephews to be brought up as Christians and to be instructed in the European manner. This action indicated not a great success in proselytism but only the tolerant spirit prevailing at that period at the Mogul court.

But while Jehangir's reign represented the high-water mark of Mogul splendor and prosperity, it also revealed some of the disintegrating causes which were eventually to bring about the decline and fall of the ruling house. The Moguls had never been remarkable for family union. Even Akbar had been troubled by his sons' quarrels, and more especially by the rebellion of his son Jehangir. This evil became intensified after that prince had himself become emperor. Most of his predecessors had wished to be impartial between their sons, but he was inflamed by a deadly animosity towards the son who was destined to succeed him, Shah Jehan.

On Jehangir's death, in 1628, Shah Jehan seized the throne, and to assure its possession he murdered all the sons of his four brothers, some of whom he had previously blinded. In this summary manner Shah Jehan freed himself from the terror of fraternal rivalry, but he was to meet his Nemesis in another form. Shah Jehan had four sons, and as they grew up it became clear to him that they were destined to continue the fatal inheritance of fraternal feud. He foresaw the danger, and he sought to

avert it, but his remedy probably aggravated the evil. He assigned a province to each of them with the higher title of viceroy, thus delegating to each within his assigned limits full sovereign powers. For a time collisions between them were avoided, but each contracting the habits of supreme authority in his separate satrapy aspired to be his father's successor and plotted accordingly.

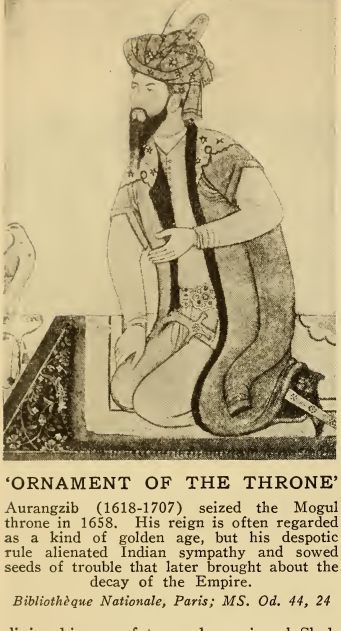
His eldest son, Dara, was appointed viceroy at Delhi and, thus being nearest the capital, was regarded as the emperor's chosen heir; the next, Sultan Sujah, was placed over Bengal; to the third, Aurangzib, fell the Deccan; and to the youngest, Murad, was allotted Gujarat. If each of these brothers had remained content with his station a peaceful succession for the eldest seemed assured. And at this moment, to put the matter to the proof, the emperor fell ill and rumor spread the tale that he was likely to die. Thereupon all the sons raised armies and hastened towards Agra, not so much to attend his obsequies as to assert their claims to the throne; and Aurangzib, who had in his youth declared that he would rather be a 'fakir' than an emperor, was the hottest in the quest.

Then ensued the most relentless fraternal war in the annals of India. Great battles were fought, armies reckoned by the hundred thousand dwindled by mutual slaughter to as many hundreds; but while the power of the others waned, that of Aurangzib increased. Dara was captured and executed, his head being sent to Aurangzib for identification; Sultan Sujah fled to Bengal and died of privation. Murad, who had fought for Aurangzib, was thrown into prison by him and done to death. Of the four brothers, Aurangzib thus remained alone. He thought to make his position surer by exterminating their offspring. In a double sense, then, Aurangzib stood alone, but the emperor had not died. What was to be done with him? Aurangzib held the seals of authority; were he to restore them to his father he could

**FIFTH OF THE GREAT MOGULS**

Shah Jehan succeeded his father Jehangir in 1628, and ranks as one of the best of the Mogul emperors. This equestrian portrait of him, preserved at Leningrad, is reputed a good likeness, but in composition and material owes much to European influence, which markedly affected later Mogul art.

*From F. R. Martin, Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey (Quaritch)*



**'ORNAMENT OF THE THRONE'**

Aurangzib (1618-1707) seized the Mogul throne in 1658. His reign is often regarded as a kind of golden age, but his despotic rule alienated Indian sympathy and sowed seeds of trouble that later brought about the decay of the Empire.

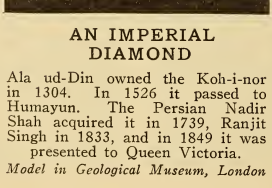
*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; MS. Od. 44, 24*

divine his own fate, so he assigned Shah Jehan a gilded palace as his prison, in which he passed the last seven years of his life. Dark stories were whispered of how it all ended, but perhaps in this particular Aurangzib was maligned.

Shah Jehan was regarded as one of the best rulers of his family. He is said to have trebled the revenue, and the prosperity of the country reached its highest point in his time. His court was maintained on a splendid scale. He spent colossal sums on festivals given to celebrate any official event. The collection of jewels in his royal treasury exceeded anything imagined in the Arabian Nights or found in the cave of Aladdin. He sat upon the famous Peacock Throne, the precious stones on which were valued at not less than twelve million sterling; and he possessed six other thrones hardly less remarkable or valuable. Among his most famous jewels was the large ruby named the Tribute of the World, sent to his father by Shah Abbas. From Aurangzib, in his dutiful days, he had received a more famous jewel, the priceless Koh-i-nor from the mines of Golconda.

But there was one sphere of regal authority and opportunity in which Shah Jehan surpassed both his predecessors and his successors. Not since Hadrian had there been such a builder of magnificent conceptions. His devotion to his wife the beautiful Mumtaz-i-Mahal, niece of the more ambitious and able empress Nur Jehan, had been idyllic, and on her death he consecrated their love and her memory in the beautiful tomb known to all time as the Taj Mahal, 'a dream in marble designed by Titans and finished by jewelers.' Mumtaz died in 1630, and the temple tomb in Agra, the imperial capital which surmounted her remains, took twenty-two years to reach completion.

Aurangzib having got rid of his brothers and imprisoned his father, seated himself on the throne, and speculation was rife as to what would be the character of his reign. Everyone recognized his courage and capacity. The Moguls had not produced such a valiant and successful leader since Babar. He had removed all possible rivals. It did not seem that there were any worlds left for him to conquer, at least of sufficient attraction or value to inspire the effort. Moreover, he was a devout Moslem. The heresies or fantasies of the previous emperors were discarded. All the mosques were repaired, the triumph of Islam was proclaimed, and an order was issued that



**AN IMPERIAL DIAMOND**

Ala ud-Din owned the Koh-i-nor in 1304. In 1526 it passed to Humayun. The Persian Nadir Shah acquired it in 1739, Ranjit Singh in 1833, and in 1849 it was presented to Queen Victoria.

*Model in Geological Museum, London*

the Hindu temples should be destroyed. After that it was not surprising that he should again impose the poll tax on his Hindu subjects, and with that act expired the popularity of the Mogul rulers of India. The admonitions of Babar were forgotten, the example of Akbar was ignored, and the pre-eminence of the foreign conqueror was asserted in a form that affected every household in the land. Aurangzib wanted the money because he had decided to extend the Mogul dominion in South India.

### Ambitions of Aurangzib

AURANGZIB had formed this ambition by local contact. As titular viceroy of the Deccan he had seen something and heard more of the riches of the region lying south of the Narbada. His appetite had been whetted by tales of the treasures lying in the palaces of Bijapur and Golconda. Had he not, somehow or other, acquired from that source the famous Koh-i-nor to send to his father? The enterprise promised to be remunerative, and he minimized the difficulties that stood between him and success.

It was in 1681 that he set out on his long cherished enterprise and for the remaining twenty-six years of his life he passed his time in a camp without revisiting his capital. The host with which he marched into southern India was truly imposing, said to number 400,000 men, but progress was slow, the mortality in the over-crowded camps was great, and the sieges of minor places in seemingly endless succcession soon became wearisome. If the enemy resisted stubbornly, the emperor was not less tenacious. He forced his way southward. After a siege of many years Bijapur was captured in 1687, and in the following year Golconda shared the same fate. The spoil captured in these cities was stated at an almost fabulous total, but it could have gone but a small way towards providing the cost of these protracted campaigns. The outcome of this war was the erection of the subahdarship of the Deccan, in another generation to be merged in the quasi-sovereign state of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

No sooner was peace assured in the Deccan than fresh and more serious trouble arose with the Rajputs and the Marathas. The former began open warfare, but they were overmatched in numbers and by too hastily arousing the emperor's vengeance weakened themselves permanently so that they became the tributaries of the Marathas. The Marathas, more astute, carried on irregular warfare, avoiding pitched battles, and gradually sapping the resources of the Mogul dynasty.

**THE JASMINE TOWER AT AGRA**

Of all the Mogul buildings at Agra perhaps the most arresting is the octagonal Jasmine Tower, or Samman Burj, built on a bastion of the fort walls overlooking the Jumna. For here Shah Jehan was imprisoned for the last seven years of his life by his son Aurangzib, and from the cloistered veranda ever turned wistful eyes to where across the river the Taj Mahal gleamed white among the trees, the exquisite mausoleum he himself had raised for his adored wife Mumtaz-i-Mahal.

*Photo, Kenneth Comyn*

It is customary to consider that with the death of Aurangzib the Mogul Empire reached its apogee. Certainly with him closed the line of rulers of the house of Babar who might, without excessive flattery, be styled great.

At the same time, the Mogul Empire was always more magnificent than pow-

MUMTAZ, AN EMPEROR'S BELOVED

This painting on ivory, set in a precious mosaic and mounted on sandalwood, shows Mumtaz-i-Mahal, 'the favorite of the palace.' The beautiful wife of Shah Jehan, she inspired in her husband such love and devotion that, on her death in 1630, he raised to her memory the incomparable Taj Mahal.

*Photo, E.N.A.*

erful. Its military strength was mainly on the surface. The army was organized for show rather than for service, and behind the pageant of an army the government was carried on without any clearly defined and binding system necessary for assured stability. The law was based not on a code, but on the will or impulse of the ruler, and, where he could not be present, of those governors to whom he delegated his powers. For criminal offences the punishment was severe and summary, as prisons did not exist except for important captives, and was often accompanied by atrocious tortures which varied as the emperor happened to be drunk or sober. In civil actions the essential preliminary was the payment of a 'nuzzar,' and the emperor in person accepted it at the durbar of judicial cases held twice weekly. The result of the action depended on which side knew how to bribe the highest and the wisest, and the object of the tribunal was to divert as much as possible of the sums at issue into the pockets of the government, the emperor himself, or his officers. The disputes and litigations of the millions living on or out of the land were left to their own village panchayats, and here perhaps the only uncontaminated justice under the Moguls was dispensed.

Great as the revenue seemed in the eyes of European visitors, it required the system of Akbar and the watchful supervision of ministers like Todar Mal to keep the expenditure of the court as well as of the state within it. The court even with the best of emperors came before the state. There was the zenana in the first place, then came the court festivities which included the giving of presents to friends and supporters of the dynasty, and finally the maintenance of the chosen guard of the emperor's person—the size of a moving city.

### Diminution of National Resources

ANOTHER and more serious drain on the imperial resources was due to the excessive number of men employed in

military pursuits, and this greatly increased under Akbar's successors. The paper strength of the army was mainly fictitious. The commanders of regiments drew for the full number of men, whereas in reality the corps would be at half its proper complement or even less. As time went on the abuse became aggravated.

From the ethics of Babar and the practice of Akbar the transition moves by a slow but regular gradation to the corrupt period of Aurangzib, when every man had his price and the emperor himself had become a greedy participator in the system. The revenue which had attained its highest point under Shah Jehan began to decline as the immediate consequence of the long struggle among his sons to make sure of the succession. The interminable strife with the Marathas was attended not only by the military outlay but also by the reduction of the revenue, and when to this cause was added the drain of the war in the Deccan, undertaken in a light spirit for the sake of immediate plunder, but protracted in the reality until it became a running sore, it is not surprising that the emperor should have found himself in need of some fresh sources of revenue. He had recourse to them without seriously considering all their after-effects. The principal of these measures was the imposition, or rather the revival, for it had been first abolished by Akbar, of the poll tax on the non-Moslems of India. In his anxiety to draw in money he overlooked the attendant disadvantages in alienating Hindu sympathy and in emphasising the fact that the Mogul represented a foreign and unsympathetic domination.

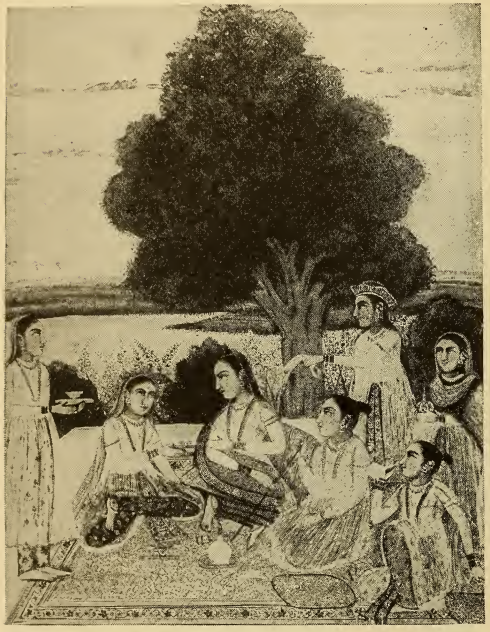
Comparisons have often been made by Indian as well as English writers between the Mogul and British systems of government. The conclusion has not always been in favor of the British, but a more careful examination of the facts would not support this judgment. The precepts and example of Akbar were admirable, but their observance was restricted to the limited portion of the dominions

AURANGZIB RECEIVES AN EMBASSY

On Aurangzib's accession to the throne, the shah of Persia in 1661 sent an embassy with congratulations and gifts. On the left Budaq Beg, the Persian envoy, salutes the emperor. In the foreground and on the extreme left are presents from the shah, including horses, precious stones and cases of rose-water.

*Bodleian Library, Ouseley MSS, Additional 173; from Binyon, 'Court Painters of the Moguls,' Oxford University Press*

which might be described as coming under the emperor's immediate supervision. The application became relaxed as the distance from the court increased, and this tendency was more marked under his successors. But even when the highest tribute is paid to the intentions of the ruler it must be remembered that the land tax claimed and secured by the government was one-third of the produce, and that when the collectors and officials had taken their own percentage there was less than half the produce left for division between landlord and tenant. The tax on land and the method of collection have always been the measure of good government with the peoples of India. Under the British raj the levy on the land averages twelve per cent., and there are no contingent squeezes by officials. That is a sounder basis for comparison than the glitter and pomp of the most splendid of Asiatic courts.



LADIES OF THE ROYAL ZENANA

This really beautiful picture of the Indo-Persian school of painting dates from about 1590. It represents a princess of the Mogul dynasty with her ladies and servants seated in a garden, and a note written on it by one of its Hindu owners identifies the royal lady as the empress Mohsin Bibi.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Smith-Lesouëf MSS., 249; from Blochet*

Their buildings provided a surer memorial of the taste and dignity of the first Mogul emperors than anything recorded by their too flattering court poets and historians. They have stood the test of time, they have gained the admiration of the West as well as of the East, they remain unique in many respects as objects of beauty created by the aesthetic taste and artistic genius of men. In them may be found the inspiration of the cultured Persians and Arabs who represented one of the highest forms of civilization.

Neither Babar nor Humayun is to be reproached because they were employed in such sterner work as left them no leisure for architectural developments. But to Babar's memory must be assigned the practice of garden planning which became a tradition with his descendants.

Humayun had less time even than his father for building, but his name was perpetuated by the noble tomb bearing his name which Akbar constructed in his honor outside the walls of Delhi. Akbar patronized Lahore rather than Delhi, and made it his principal place of residence during fourteen years of his reign (1584-1598). Akbar's son Jehangir also resided there during the closing five years of his reign. He and his famous wife the empress Nur Jehan both died

there, and beautiful tombs were erected to their memory by the next emperor; but these and other monuments of Mogul art were badly damaged on several occasions by the Sikhs during periods of religious excitement.

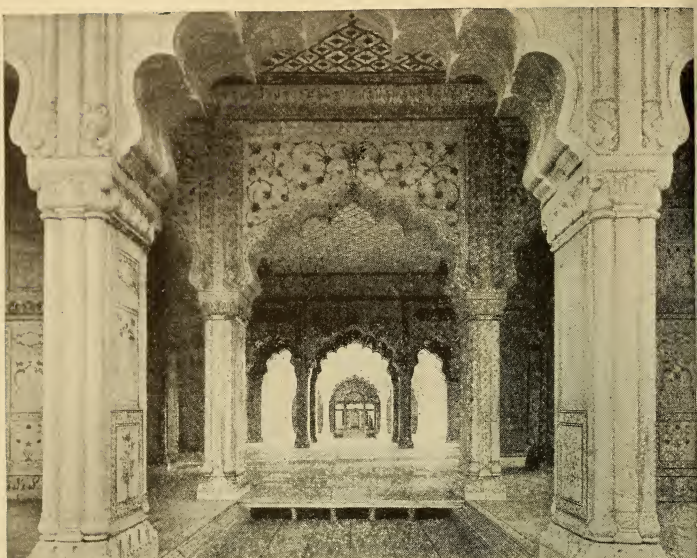
Agra was, of course, the center of Mogul activity at its prime under the three emperors Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan. Akbar after abandoning his design of a new capital at Fatehpur Sikri began the construction of the great palace, which was continued by his son and only completed in the time of his grandson. The palace is included within Babar's fort, and is specially noteworthy for its dimensions. Five miles northwest of Agra at Sikandra is the fine monument to Akbar constructed by his son Jehangir.

But Agra owes most to Shah Jehan. The Jama Masjid was built by that prince in honor of his favorite daughter, Jehanara, 'the brilliant lady' who devoted herself to his care after the death of her mother, Mumtaz-i-Mahal. It took five years to build and was finished in 1640. This mosque illustrates what was called the primitive Mogul style, and is constructed in a curious medley of red

AKBAR'S 'GATE OF VICTORY' AT FATEHPUR SIKRI

Mogul architecture achieves its most inspiring grandeur in the southern gateway to the Great Mosque at Fatehpur Sikri. The gate is built of red sandstone inlaid with marble and is 172 feet in height, and set as it is on rising ground its aspect is incomparably majestic.

*Photo, Deaville Walker*



**GEM OF JEWELLED ARCHITECTURE IN THE PALACE AT DELHI**

'If a Paradise be on the face of the earth, it is this.' So runs the Persian inscription round the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience. It is a marble pavilion with flowers and foliage in green serpentine, blue lapis-lazuli and red and purple porphyry covering the arches and pilasters.

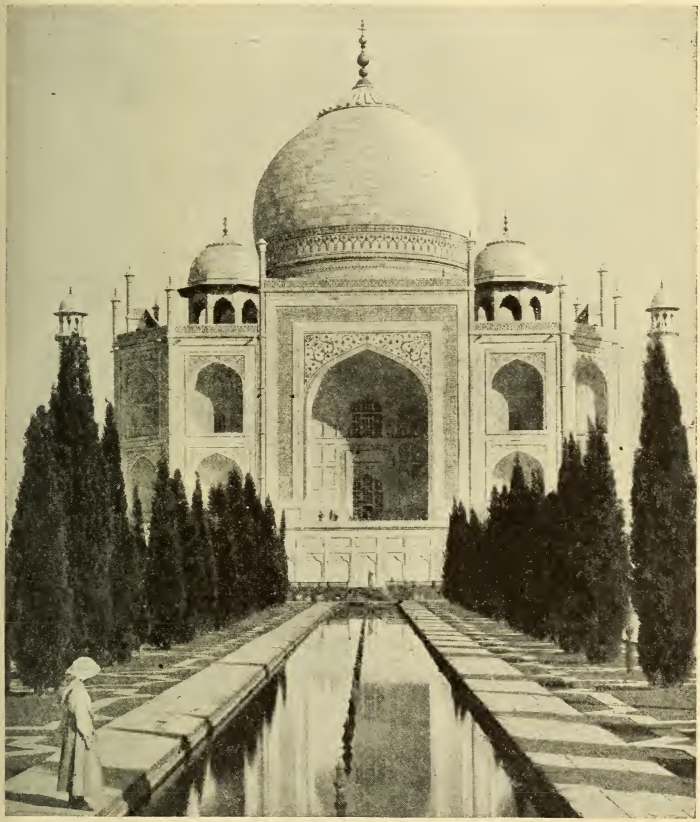
*Photo, F. Deaville Walker*

and white stones. Still more striking than the Jama Masjid is the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque, completed in 1654. Its most striking feature is three domes of white marble flanked by delicate gilded spires. The walls are also white with narrow lines of black marble introduced. The whole building reveals in its conception and execution marked traces of Arab or Saracenic influence. Not content with this achievement Shah Jehan caused a miniature replica of the Pearl Mosque to be executed in white marble as the place of his own private devotions. Finally, there is the Taj Mahal.

Delhi was the final capital of the Mogul dynasty. Shah Jehan was the first to show his appreciation of its natural advantages to figure as the imperial capital. While Lahore was in favor Delhi languished, but there was a rapid change when Shah Jehan transferred his patronage to the city to which he gave his name as Shahjehanabad. His greatest addition was the imperial palace known by his name. This enormous building, 1,600 feet by 3,200 feet, is the largest palace in the world, being more than twice the size of the Escurial, which is the largest in Europe. It forms a parallelogram, and externally its noble gateway, which resembles the entrance to a vast cathedral, is the most striking feature. The second of Shah Jehan's architectural contributions to the grandeur of Delhi was the famous Jama Masjid or the Great Mosque, a wonderful erection in white marble. The Great Rest House is another fine specimen of the best period in Mogul art. While Delhi contains these splendid specimens of the finest period of Mogul art, it was

also endowed by Aurangzib with many inferior specimens which reveal the rapid decay in the artistic standard.

As artists the Indians of the Mogul period did not attain the same distinction as the architects. Akbar's efforts to form a national school of painters did not bear fruit, perhaps because his successors did not continue them. It was found that while the Indian artist was a meticulous copyist he had little or no originality in conception and that in execution he was unable to master the technique of grouping. As single portrait painters they succeeded; they were admirable as miniaturists; but their



MEMORIAL OF UNDYING LOVE: A POEM IN WHITE MARBLE

Tomb of Shah Jehan and his beloved wife Mumtaz, the flawless beauty of the Taj Mahal is the glory of Agra. Exquisitely conceived and perfectly executed, the building is of white marble, inlaid with precious stones from its glittering central dome to the surrounding terrace and four tall minarets.

*Photo, F. Deaville Walker*

limitations were soon reached. As book illustrators they displayed great skill in the blending of colors, and most of the illuminated manuscripts that have been preserved are extremely beautiful.

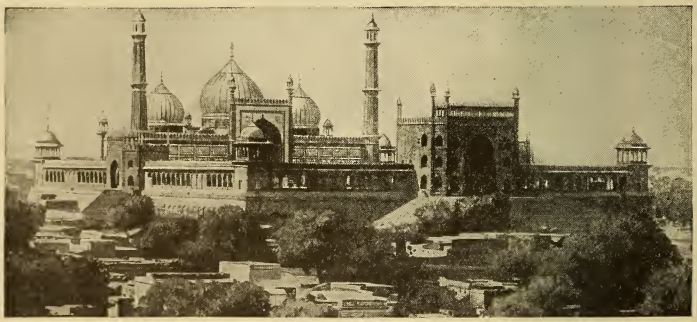
As the Moguls attached so much value to precious stones and boasted of their hoards it is not surprising that skilled jewellers were in great request and highly favored. It was for this reason that Akbar took the Englishman Leedes into his service, an example followed by Shah Jehan with regard to the Frenchman Tavernier; but these Europeans were the exception. The bulk of the working jewellers were natives of either India or the adjacent countries, and Tavernier records how very skilful they were not merely in polishing but in cutting and piercing the hardest stones.

MOHAMMED SHAH

Mohammed Shah, emperor from 1719 to 1748, was faced with constant wars. Unable to raise means of defense, he was powerless to prevent the Persian invasion under Nadir Shah in 1738.

*State Museum, Berlin*

The reign of Aurangzib marked the high-water level of Mogul power, and from his death in 1707 it is usual to date its decline. But there were other and deeper causes for that decline than the effects of his protracted and exhausting campaigns in the Deccan. If there had been real strength and ample resources behind the imperial authority these effects would have been obliterated within a very brief period. The Mogul conquest had been accomplished by a mere handful of men because, as Babar put it, the people of India cannot 'manfully support a war nor can they combine in amity and friendship.' The people from whom Babar and Humayun conquered India were not its true inhabitants, but Moslem intruders like themselves who might be described as their predecessors



THE GREAT MOSQUE AT DELHI

The Jama Masjid or Great Mosque at Delhi was erected in 1648-50 by Shah Jehan, who was an architectural enthusiast. Built upon an elevation, it commands a magnificent view of the city and is approached by a fine flight of stone steps. At the front corners are two tall minarets and from the roof rise three white marble domes. White marble adorns the interior of the mosque, paving the floor and lining roof and walls.

*Photo, E.N.A.*

in the path of adventure. The Hindus made no resistance, they were the spectators while others shaped their fate. When Akbar took up the task of consolidating his position he saw that unless he could attract to his side some of the worthier elements in the country the rule of his family could not endure. He turned to the Rajputs, and first coerced and then propitiated them. His two immediate successors followed his example, but Aurangzib under the stress of financial difficulty changed their policy and forfeited the support of the Rajputs. War took the place of amity and alliance. The Mogul rule was thus left in the naked position of a foreign domination.

Even before the rupture with the Rajputs another Hindu race, to whom Babar's contemptuous reference could not apply, because he never came in contact with them, had appeared on the Mogul horizon with a threatening aspect. The Marathas of Khandesh, their own native country, had been the near witnesses of the difficulties with which the Moguls had to contend during the successive invasions of the Deccan. They had increased these difficulties by carrying on an irregular warfare for their own advantage. They found a born leader for guerilla operations in one of their hereditary chieftains named Sivaji, and for a whole generation they proved themselves a thorn in the side of the constituted power. In open fighting fortune fluctuated between the two sides, and after Sivaji's death it seemed as if the Mogul triumph were assured. But when Aurangzib, thinking to make that triumph more certain, executed Sivaji's son who had fallen into his hands, he committed an act which embittered the quarrel with fatal consequences beyond his perception. He had broken up the Rajputs who had been allies; he had not broken up the Marathas who were to prove the relentless foemen of his house.

Akbar's policy in propitiating Hindu opinion, with a view to establishing his family in India as a stable national dynasty, had one natural consequence that he failed very naturally to take into sufficient account. The more the Moguls relied on Indian support the less could they count on that of the Afghans, Persians and Turks with whom they had invaded India. Other conquerors arose in their midst to lead them to victory,

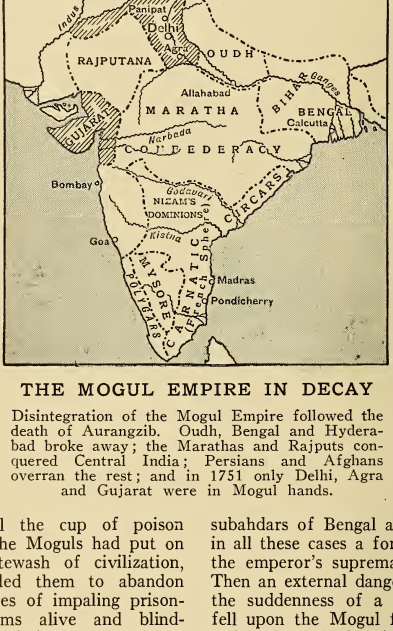
**AHMAD SHAH IN PEACEFUL LEISURE**

Ahmad Shah (1724-73) rose to high military rank under Nadir Shah, on whose assassination in 1747 he assumed power and founded the Durani dynasty in Afghanistan. From 1756 onwards he repeatedly invaded India. This contemporary picture shows him strolling in his garden with his servants.

*Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin*

and even in Kabul the emperor's deputy exercised but the shadow of his master's authority. As a recruiting ground, as the true source of his military strength, central Asia had been lost before Aurangzib died. The dire consequences of that change were to be felt by several of his successors.

If these were the public causes that brought about the decline of the Moguls in India, there were others of a more intimate character in their own family relations and history that contributed to their inevitable downfall. Excellent as were the precepts and example of Babar and Akbar, there was one point that they did not settle, and that was the rule of succession. Filial wars occurred as each ruler grew old, followed on each succession by fraternal strife. The victors prevailed in the main not by fair fighting, but by barbarous treatment of the vanquished who were their nearest kinsmen. To fail meant the loss of sight or confinement in a solitary cell until the cup of poison brought relief. The Moguls had put on some of the whitewash of civilization, but it had not led them to abandon their cruel practices of impaling prisoners, flaying victims alive and blinding or otherwise maiming those unfortunates whom fate threw in their power. In all these inhumanities their record could not be blacker, and their historians in endeavoring to exculpate the greatest of the emperors could only fall back upon the excuse that at the moment of the hellish order the ruler was mad drunk. That was a phase from which none of them was free, if some learnt to practice moderation from the warnings of excess. If due consideration be given to all these causes, the effect of which in the nature of things must be cumulative, the marvel is that the Mogul dynasty endured in a state of vigor as long as it did, and that a whole century elapsed after the decline began before it crumbled down in ruins.




THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN DECAY

Disintegration of the Mogul Empire followed the death of Aurangzib. Oudh, Bengal and Hyderabad broke away; the Marathas and Rajputs conquered Central India; Persians and Afghans overran the rest; and in 1751 only Delhi, Agra and Gujarat were in Mogul hands.

The twelve years following the death of Aurangzib were marked by scenes of indescribable confusion and infamy. The fourth among his successors on the musnud, Mohammed Shah was to experience the ill effects of the follies and mistakes of his predecessors. The first step in disintegration arose in the south. Asaf Jah was subahdar of Berar and controlled the Deccan. He set up his authority at Hyderabad and founded the dynasty of the Nizams. A few years later his example was followed by the subahdars of Bengal and Oudh, although in all these cases a formal recognition of the emperor's supremacy was continued. Then an external danger supervened with the suddenness of a thunderstorm, and fell upon the Mogul fortunes with shattering effect. In Persia another great military genius and conqueror appeared in the person of the Turcoman Nadir Shah, who in 1738 captured Kandahar, and in the following year crossed the Indus, marching straight on Delhi.

The unfortunate Mohammed Shah, taken quite unprepared, had no means of

defence. He turned to the Rajputs; they would not listen. He summoned the subahdars, who should have come to his aid; they were too far off. He even appealed to the Marathas, but their new leader, the peshwa, was too busy in consolidating his authority by the conquests of Malwa, Gujarat and Berar. In this hour of need he could think of no better plan than to send his priests to supplicate the mercy of the invader as one Moslem prince appealing to another, to which came back the terror-striking answer: 'I am no emissary of mercy, but one of those scourges sent by God to punish the wickedness of nations.' This new Attila of the eighteenth century was as good as his word. He massacred the inhabitants of Delhi, just as his prototype, Timur, had done, and having collected all the spoils of the palaces, reckoned at one hundred million sterling, including the famous Peacock Throne, he withdrew to Persia leaving behind him a blackened track of burning towns and bewailing people. The Mogul dynasty could no longer pretend that it kept India safe from foreign invasion.

THE LAST MOGUL

Bahadur Shah, last Mogul emperor, was deposed after the Mutiny in 1857. *From Hendley, 'Rulers of India,' Griggs*

When Nadir Shah was murdered by his generals in 1747 Ahmad, the ablest of them and the head of the combined Afghan contingents, became the guiding spirit of an army which looked to plunder as the prize and recompense of victory. In the very year of his accession he crossed the Indus and harried the Punjab, but on this occasion he did not reach Delhi, where fresh internal discords had weakened the Moguls and increased the calamities of India. Mohammed Shah died amid these scenes of public woe. His son and successor, Ahmad Shah, after a brief reign was deposed by Alamgir, who in a few short years was murdered. His successor, Shah Alum, fled to Allahabad to pass more than ten years in exile from his capital. In the interval two great events had taken place. In 1756 Ahmad Shah (the Afghan) sacked Delhi, carrying off what Nadir Shah had overlooked, and by some strange oversight this included the famous Koh-i-nor, which remained in Afghan hands until, by an astute move, Ranjit Singh filched it from Ahmad's unfortunate descendant, Shah Shuja. The second event was the battle of Panipat, in 1761, in which the Marathas, who had waxed as the Moguls waned, and had marched northward to meet the invader.

In all these Persian and Afghan invasions, save the last, the Mogul emperors were overwhelmed. It was said that 40,000 of them remained prisoners in Ahmad's hands and that he put them all to the sword. Panipat put an end to the Maratha chance of becoming supreme in India.

Before the battle the emperor Shah Alum had fled to Allahabad where he remained an exile with a humble court for eleven years. Ahmad continued to raid India but on a much smaller scale than at first. Before his death in 1773 the Marathas, or, to be more correct, Mahdaji Scindia, had found himself sufficiently strong to set Shah Alum again on the throne of his ancestors, and to proclaim his intention to defend him against all comers; and that declaration was made good for more than thirty years.

A new chapter opened in 1803. Lord Lake having overthrown Scindia's forces at Laswari entered Delhi and was received by the aged emperor, a pathetic figure with his sightless orbs, in the Audience Chamber of the vast palace. To him the victorious general gave the pledge that henceforth the emperor and his descendants should be safe under British protection. They were safe

against everyone save themselves. In a weak and misguided moment Mohammed Bahadur Shah, the grandson of the amiable and unfortunate Shah Alum, allowed himself to be made the tool of the mutineers of Delhi and Meerut in 1857. His assumption of independence lasted for but a few short months, ending with the formal deposition which brought the famous Mogul dynasty to its end three hundred years after Humayun had recovered and made sure the authority first established by his father.

Notwithstanding the reservations which have been made, the Mogul conquest of India was a marvellous achievement, and for the first 150 years their rule constituted a brilliant epoch of splendor and power, unsurpassed in any other kingdom of the world. It would probably have endured longer if Aurangzib had been more moderate in his designs and if he had fixed his southern frontier on the Narbada. But he was seized with the desire to extend his empire over the whole of the peninsula, and thus to establish for the first time in recorded history the unity of India. In form he succeeded, for there was not a state or a province that did not admit his sovereignty, and long after his time, and even while the dynasty itself was in decay, the custom of seeking investiture from Delhi was observed by all the rulers, great and small, who were not too proud or too independent to rank themselves as feudatories of the Empire. The Moguls then were the first to give reason for regarding India as a single state, instead of a congeries of petty states distinguished from each other by differences of race, religion and customs that seemed to render any union between them impossible. That was the distinguishing feat of the Mogul dynasty in India, and it interests the British more particularly because they are the inheritors in the same task.

But apart from this accidental inheritance in the maintenance and strengthening of India's unity there is no resemblance or common ground between the Mogul and British systems. They had their bright periods, but the brightness was always tarnished by deeds at which humanity shudders. The greatest of their rulers in periods of debauch or moods of insanity showed himself to be little better than a brute. Restrained by no sentiments of natural affection for their own kith and kin, how could they have any feeling towards the millions of silent uncomplaining Hindu subjects who were regarded as mere beasts of burden so long as they contributed to the revenue, and as criminals to be decimated when they failed? Their only use in the eyes of the ruler and his courtiers was to provide them with the means of gratifying their passions and their pleasures. Lest it may be thought that this statement is overdrawn the opinion of an English visitor to the Mogul's court in the concluding years of the reign of Aurangzib may be quoted:

> They are the most cowardly, loose, despicable Government in the World, indeed not fit to be called a Government, having neither laws, morality, honesty nor religion, nor any method of doing anything but cheating those they can and squeezing all in their power, and at that they are very dextrous and are not the least ashamed of the most palpable cheats or basest action imaginable if found out in it. No one minister speaks well of another, but are very open and free in their language, calling one another Rogues without this ever being resented. As the Ministers do not spare one another so neither do the common people the Ministers, nor even the Emperor, of whom they openly tell such stories that common modesty or respect would keep in silence. The Emperor is feared in deed because with the breath of his mouth he can make the greatest man a beggar. They are all his slaves but yet they presume so far upon his age and new-founded lenity as to talk very vilifyingly of him.

The Natural and inevitable penalty for that system came when the Moguls were chastised by their own kinsmen at Delhi and Panipat, and only found temporary and nominal security as the pageants of the Maratha Scindia. For half a century this fading dynasty enjoyed much of the pomp if none of the power of its ancestry. When the end came amid the storm clouds of the Mutiny the pomp followed the power.

# BUCCANEER AND PIRATE: A PHASE OF SEA HISTORY

VIOLENT OUTBURST IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES OF THE ANCIENT SEA SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE

By E. KEBLE CHATTERTON

*Author of The Romance of Piracy, etc.*

FEW of us are so little responsive as not to be thrilled at the mere mention of pirates and pirate ships: immediately we begin to conjure up in our imagination highly-colored dramas of the sea, full of those exciting adventures wherein might is always right and the principal actors are lawless desperadoes.

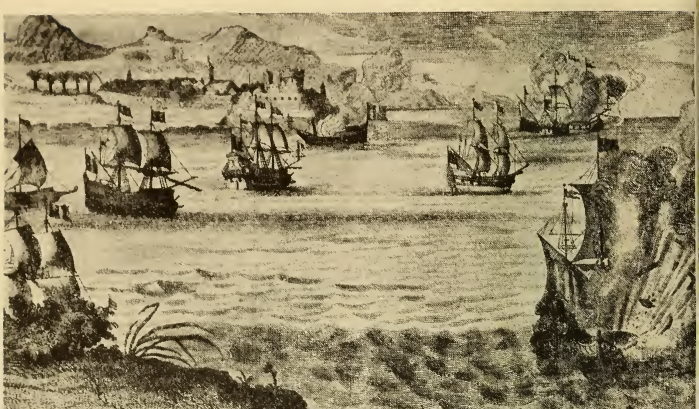
Basically and historically piracy is the active seeking of fortune by individual ships afloat; not an organized co-operative undertaking as with fleets of war, nor an arrangement with merchants to carry commerce. Originally, too, it was a profession rather than a crime, a venturesome speculation with all the potentialities of uncertainty.

It is as impossible to explain why some men throughout the ages of the world have preferred to be pirates as it is to give an adequate reason for choosing any career afloat instead of the security ashore. A man either had this instinctive bias, or he has not; but this adventuresome attitude has been the foundation of sea power and therefore of colonization and imperial expansion. In certain periods piracy certainly became systematized and was conducted on a grand scale, as by the Moslem corsairs. During Elizabethan times many nominally legal adventures at sea were scarcely more lawful than the undertakings of Captains Kidd and 'Blackbeard' Teach in later days. Privateering during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which formed such a marked feature of the Anglo-French and Anglo-American wars, afforded a fine outlet for those who wanted sea adventure combined with financial profit. The sea spirit of adventure, the longing 'to attempt,' is still far from dead; but it manifests itself nowadays in such projects as Polar expeditions and long voyages in small ships.

It is a notable instance of the democratic influence of the sea that just as in Elizabethan times sons from the best English families set forth on scarcely accredited undertakings to capture Spanish treasure ships, so in early classical days the summons of the sea attracted the most patrician no less than the most plebeian devotees. From about 580 B.C. until the time of the Roman Conquest the Aeolian Isles were practically a commonwealth of Greek corsairs. The Ionians and Lycians were notorious for their piracy; the Aegean Sea, Pontus and Adriatic were operational areas where the light swift-darting 'myoparones' and 'hemiolia' with other craft chased the big-bellied merchant vessels.

Similarly the Etruscan corsairs were a source of keen anxiety to the Sicilian Greeks, as the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands were a terror farther westward. During that period preceding the subversion of the Roman commonwealth by Julius Caesar the Mediterranean from east to west was controlled by corsairs, who could put forth a fleet of a thousand craft. So long as Rome maintained a powerful navy piracy disappeared; but whenever she neglected her sea service the corsairs became active, the corn supply from Egypt was stopped, overseas trade became impossible and numerous Roman citizens of distinction were captured. Throughout the whole story of piracy it is only by law and order, by the triumph of right through properly constituted channels, that these 'enemies of the human race,' as Cicero called them, were finally to be overcome.

But before law must come food; it is difficult to convince a starving seaman that he must not steal. After the Roman occupation of Britain had ceased, and the 'classis Britannica' was no longer in



SHIPS IN WHICH FIERCE PIRATES RAIDED THE RICH TOWNS OF THE WEST

The pirate ships of Morgan, that bloodthirsty Welsh buccaneer, are here seen defeating the Spanish fleet off Maracaibo in 1669. The town, on the Venezuelan mainland, was then held to ransom and sacked, the marauders dividing the loot of gold plate, jewels and silver. Part of the treasure hoard which was discovered under San José Church, Panamá, probably came from Maracaibo.

*From Esquemelin, 'Bucaneers of America'*

existence as a defence, Britain's shores became open to pillage and plunder by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Later on, piracy in the English Channel became even a special privilege. The men of the Cinque Ports were allowed to plunder French, Spanish, Genoese, Venetian—any kind of vessels that passed along the coast, always excepting English craft. The result was that by the time of Henry III the Channel was about as dangerous as the Mediterranean had been.

Similarly in the North Sea merchant ships with their cargoes of wool and wine, or Yarmouth vessels with their catches of fish, were the prey of pillaging pirates who swooped down and took everything. These activities were confined to no nation, and such was the dislocation of trade that from time to time kings of England were of necessity forced to make treaties with other rulers.

There was as yet no na.al force, no organized state sea power sufficiently strong to back up admonitions against robbery afloat. The merchants might go on complaining, but in a very real and special sense the freedom of the seas belonged as yet to the roving pirate.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century a fresh impetus was given to this reckless adventuring; an extraordinary glamor had come over the sea which now attracted men who hitherto had been accustomed only to the land. Spain and Portugal had indicated that the path across the ocean was the way to wealth. England was still financially poor, and her trade in bad condition. Spain was rich through colonial enterprise, and therefore her shipping became an irresistible magnet for west of England mariners.

By now piracy had become what smuggling was transformed into a couple of centuries later: it was an important industry conducted on the Narrow Seas, just as privateering was to become a profession pursued over the high seas,

and in both cases there were financial backers. And this persistent roving encouraged seafaring at a time when mariners were extremely few and most people had an utter dread of anything to do with shipping, and kept alive the spirit of adventure which could be trained for the service of the state.

The corsairs of Barbary were a totally different class of pirates. In 1492 the Spaniards drove the Moslems finally out of Europe across the Gibraltar Strait into Morocco, and from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 the North African Moslems, cruel by nature but especially angered against all Christianity, became a consistent terror by sea to the Spanish, French, Genoese, Venetian and English shipping. This was the grand period of these Moorish pirates with their manageable craft, their immense resources, great daring, perfect seamanship and well-protected shore bases. But long after that date these Barbary corsairs continued to harass Christian traders with the utmost boldness and enterprise. So powerful did they continue that it required the efforts of all the great maritime European powers right down to the first quarter of the nineteenth century before their piratical might could be broken.

In the year 1655 Cromwell's great admiral Blake was sent on an expedition against Tunis, and in 1682 Duquesne bombarded Algiers, the headquarters of piracy, but it still continued to be a blot on civilization until the nineteenth century. Then in August, 1816, a fleet under Admiral Lord Exmouth, consisting of British line-of-battle ships, Dutch frigates and corvettes, bombarded Algiers, silenced the batteries, and boarded and set on fire the Algerine frigates, with the result that the following morning the Dey surrendered and twelve hundred Christians were released from cruel slavery. Finally, just fourteen years later, Algiers was captured by the French, and that which was once a terror to shipping is now a winter resort.

We pass next to that other grand scale development of adventuring which is for ever associated with the Caribbean and has given to fiction so much skull-and-crossbones romance with its highly colored background. The Moorish pirates of the North African coast and the buccaneers of the West Indies had three important characteristics in common, in addition to the seafaring sense. In both there was a fundamental hatred of Spain, both were men of desperate and adventurous nature, and greed of gain was their common incentive.

And yet at the beginning the buccaneers were merely settlers on Hispaniola, the island which to-day we know as Haiti and Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo was full of wild cattle, and the first buccaneers were cattle hunters. The name was derived from 'boucan,' a hurdle made of sticks on which strips of beef newly salted were smoked by the West Indians. The meat thus roasted was called 'viande boucannée,' and thus the French hunters of Santo Domingo who prepared their meat after this Indian fashion became known as 'boucaniers,' a name which was eventually to suggest nothing higher than a sea highwayman.

Now from early days of colonization on Hispaniola, or 'New Spain,' the occupation became less that of husbandry than the pasturing of cattle, which began to multiply, so that cattle-hunting was an established business. But quite early during the sixteenth century, in spite of all Spanish regulations to the contrary, there arrived on the Caribbean ships first from England and subsequently from France and the Low Countries. The mariners of all three countries needed meat, so they landed on the more secluded western portion of Hispaniola which was farthest away from actual Spanish control at the capital, hunted the cattle as they wished and took the meat off to the ships. These three nationalities of seamen, prompted by their love of adventure and desire for gain, were united in their hatred of the exclusive Spaniard, and called themselves the 'Brethren of the Coast.'

And now not merely did they hunt Hispaniola's cattle, but they founded in that western area factories and establishments for curing the meat after the fashion of the West Indian. The north European ships, interlopers though they were, now came and began a trade in smoked meat, tallow and hides. Thus the history of the buccaneer begins, though the word did not come into use until the last quarter of the sixteenth

century. The French buccaneers, it may be noticed, were sometimes called 'flibustiers.' According to Professor Skeat this word was first used in 1587, and was a French corruption of 'vrijbuiter,' or freebooter, which the Dutch rovers employed.

If we select the year 1613, we find that in the West Indies the Spaniards owned, besides Hispaniola, the islands of Puerto Rico, Cuba and Jamaica. Most of the other islands were either desolate or inhabited by a few savages. In 1625 the island of St. Christopher in the Lesser Antilles was colonized by English and French, and after this were established a number of West Indian companies just as there was a Muscovy Company or an East India Company.

The possibilities of Barbados and the Bahamas appealed to certain Englishmen who had money to invest. Thus the former had been granted to the earl of Carlisle, who had sent over from England great numbers of persons 'towards the planting of it.' Similarly there was a company of 'Adventurers to the Islands of Providence and Henrietta' to which various investors contributed £500 each. Such colonies were under the rule of a governor; they had the power to make laws and erect forts and had full jurisdiction, with power of life and death.

### Colonising Aids the Buccaneers

How did this further colonial enterprise affect the buccaneers? The answer is that it aided them both directly and indirectly. Already by 1638 cattle from Hispaniola were being sent to Providence, and there were more ships calling at the buccaneer settlement for trade. But especially encouraging was this increasing north European aggression against the long-continued Spanish exclusiveness. Indeed, so greatly did the cattle business prosper that the pioneers took possession of that small island Tortuga which lies just off the northwest of Hispaniola. Twenty miles long and seven miles wide, it had the advantage of being separated from the Spanish island by the sea. Further, it had an excellent anchorage.

On the settlement of Tortuga by the English and French hunter-mariners, some became purely 'boucaniers' or hunters; others applied themselves solely to cultivation of the soil and were known as 'habitants'; but there was a third class who could not resist the call of the sea, and must go adventuring to get their living by private warfare against shipping that plied in these waters. Finally all three sections became amphibians, hunting, planting and roving in turns. The word buccaneer now becomes synonymous with filibustering and the cattle business.

But the buccaneers on Tortuga lulled themselves into a false sense of security and neglected to fortify their base, with the result that in 1638 when many of the men and ships were at sea, the Spaniards came across, captured it, and massacred many of those who had remained ashore. There survived of these, however, sufficient to form with other English, French and Dutch mariners from all parts a nucleus of three hundred who still kept on their amphibious life of hunting and cruising. But there is not always law among the lawless, and three years later the Frenchmen by cunning became sole possessors of Tortuga and forced the Englishmen to leave. French garrisons were introduced into western Hispaniola and the English were elbowed out of there also.

### English Hostility to Spain

Thus it was that the English buccaneers, having been actually expelled from all chance of cattle hunting, became sea adventurers solely. Instead of hunting cattle part of the time they hunted Spanish ships all the time. The West Indian harbors of the various islands which now were being colonized by English planters became convenient anchorages for these wanderers. Not merely did the colonial governors at this time not interfere with the buccaneers, but they were glad to see their ships arrive. For they brought in their Spanish prizes and sold here the valued commodities. They enabled the colonists to have a larger variety of goods than otherwise would have been possible, and, in short, it was all good for trade. Moreover, the governor himself who granted commissions, or license, to seize Spanish ships was himself entitled to a tenth of all the prize money thus brought in.

At home both the English and French governments realized that in this hardy

tough, well-trained body of seamen, plucky, desperate and determined fighters, there was always ready and on the spot a force that would prove invaluable the moment another war with Spain should break out. Off and on, either hostilities or unsettled relations and the rumors of war with that country troubled the West Indies right down to the Battle of Trafalgar. Thus, the West Indian buccaneer received such encouragement that he increased in strength and daring.

The buccaneers in their unrestrained freedom and untamed power did not hesitate to demand and receive tribute from Spanish towns both on the American continent and on the West Indian islands. But there must now be introduced on to the Caribbean the two most outstanding names at this period. Captain Edward Mansfield, or Mansveldt, by reason of his daring and popularity, had been chosen by the buccaneers as their admiral, and he conceived the idea of founding an independent buccaneer establishment on the island of St. Catherine, lying off the east coast of Nicaragua; it is known today as Old Providence Island to distinguish it from New Providence Island in the Bahamas. With him as his second in command sailed Henry Morgan, who had been born in Glamorganshire about the year 1635, and had gone out to Jamaica, where he eventually joined with the buccaneers and took part in some successful cruises. A powerful expedition consisting of 15 vessels and 500 men set out from Jamaica in the year 1664. Old Providence Island was captured from the Spaniards and a Frenchman left in command. Mansfield now came back northeast, though the governor of Jamaica showed him discouragement, and the pirate admiral sailed for Tortuga, but died on the voyage. Later on the Spaniards were able to retake Old Providence. Often the buccaneers merely burned and looted and did not long hold their captured cities.

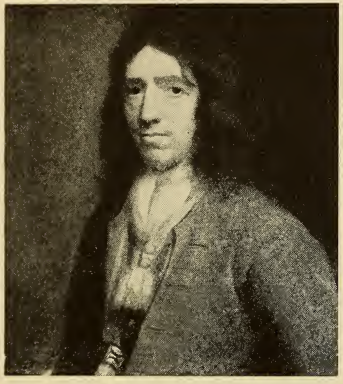
**HENRY MORGAN: PRINCE OF BUCCANEERS**

A portrait attributed to Rembrandt-van-Rijn shows Henry Morgan (1615-1688), the unprincipled but intrepid buccaneer who led many triumphant expeditions against the Spanish possessions in the New World. He was knighted by Charles II for his capture of Panamá.

*Permission of Fred C. Williams, Cardiff*

In June, 1664, Sir Thomas Modyford arrived in Jamaica to become governor, and his reports clearly show that he

deemed it best to treat the buccaneers with prudence and moderation, and endeavor if possible to reduce them from wild seafaring to peaceful planting. Yet he used them as convenient when their force was required. Thus he gave them commissions to capture Tobago from the Dutch, which they did with a couple of frigates and eighty men. This casual employment of sea robbers, however, was like the use of a boomerang, which recoiled to do injury. Because of the risk of losing their loyalty that the Council of



BUCCANEERING EXPLORER

Desire for fortune and adventure lured William Dampier (1652-1715) to a buccaneering life. In 1699 he commanded expeditions to Australia and New Guinea, thus typifying the spirit of discovery engendered by privateering.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

Jamaica was compelled to concede the issuing of letters of marque to the buccaneers against the Spaniards. Further considerations were that by this means the island was kept replenished with corn, butter, cocoa and other goods; that it was the only means of keeping the buccaneers of Hispaniola, Tortuga and Cuba from becoming openly hostile, infesting the Jamaican plantations and doing endless harm. This concession of licenses further seemed to be the best protection against Spain, and the only means likely to force the Spaniards into allowing free trade.

From now on till about 1685 the buccaneers continued to increase in power, in aspirations and daring. Henry Morgan succeeded his former admiral, Mansfield, and set the pace in plundering, cruelty and consummate cleverness. It is unnecessary here to detail his assault on Puerto del Principe in Cuba, or on Porto Bello, or the sacking of Maracaibo on the north coast of the South American continent. At last, in July 1670, England and Spain made a treaty to terminate these buccaneering hostilities and establish West Indian peace. Article IV of the treaty provided that the two kings 'shall call in all commissions, letters of marque, and reprisals, and punish all offenders, obliging them to make reparation.'

Nothing could be more characteristic of buccaneering independence than the fact that this agreement between two great powers should be so completely ignored that before the end of the year Morgan assembled a gigantic fleet of 37 ships, took it across the Caribbean and then, after further travel by canoe and foot, sighted the Pacific, fought the Spaniards, whose use of wild bulls proved ineffective, and on January 27 captured Panamá with all its riches. But from this expedition two important series of events followed. First, the sight of the Pacific Ocean with its shipping fired the minds of certain men among the buccaneers. It suggested new possibilities and an entirely new sphere so that they wanted to seek their fortunes on the South Seas. Morgan, however, forestalled this and on February 24 started the march back. All the same this new idea which now for the first time inspired the buccaneers' mind never died, as we shall see presently.

The second series of happenings was brought about by the fact that after the Panamá expedition the men were not satisfied with their share of booty; there is little doubt that Morgan had enriched himself at the expense of his men, although it had been agreed that his own share was to be a one-hundredth part. The double-dealing rascal withdrew from his command and managed to slip away and reach Jamaica. Modyford was recalled and returned to England as a prisoner to answer for his having supported and encouraged buccaneering, and the following year Morgan also was sent

home. But Charles II took a great liking to the ex-buccaneer, and in 1674 sent him back to Jamaica with the rank of colonel and the title of knighthood, to be lieutenant-governor; and for fourteen years until his death he remained on this island as a rich man enjoying social prestige.

That Panamá expedition of Morgan in 1671 was really the beginning of a new epoch; for the sight of the Southern Sea had fired the buccaneering imagination and suggested the possibility of winning far greater rewards than in the West Indies without having to observe the formality of even pretending to get letters of marque. Morgan in his new capacity of colonial governor was showing great severity towards the followers of his former profession. The South Sea was an almost untouched area with its Spanish shipping, its South American colonies and unvisited islands. So the Isthmus of Panamá was now seized by these adventurers the buccaneers, who proceeded to plunder Spanish ships and coastal towns as far south as San Juan Fernandez Island which Defoe was to make famous when in 1719 he published his Robinson Crusoe.

TERROR OF THE SPANISH MAIN

The ruffianly pirate Edward Teach was the dread of the West Indies and the Spanish Main until he was shot by Lieutenant Maynard in 1718. To enhance his grim appearance he was wont to stick lighted slow-matches in his black beard.

*From Johnson, 'General History of the Pirates' (Routledge)*

THE PENALTY OF PIRACY

Government action in the late seventeenth century reduced the popularity of buccaneering when arrest and condemnation were frequently the freebooter's lot. This picture shows a pirate being hanged at Execution Dock, Wapping.

*From 'The Malefactors' Register,' 1779*

The South Sea period of the buccaneers under such leaders as John Coxon, Richard Sawkins, John Cook, Bartholomew Sharp, John Watling, Edward Davis, Eaton, Swan and the like was an era of great enterprise, tremendous power and undoubted daring. Neither Spanish squadrons (which they attacked and defeated) nor even the wild Cape Horn (which they doubled) had any terrors for them. From California down to Chile the inhabitants of the coast-line dreaded these sea wanderers. There were inevitably quarrels among them and violent disunions, so that some men followed one leader, and some remained loyal to others. In this way the oceans of the world became the hunting ground

of various piratical cruisers. Thus, for instance, in 1683 William Dampier, who at various stages in his career was seaman, buccaneer, pirate, circumnavigator and captain in the Royal Navy, threw in his lot with John Cook who, starting from the western side of Hispaniola, cruised up to Virginia accompanied also by Edward Davis, Lionel Wafer and Ambrose Cowley. Afterwards they sailed across the Atlantic to Cape Verde and Sierra Leone, down south round Cape Horn, up the Pacific to Juan Fernandez, visiting the Galapagos, and so to New Spain, where Cook died and was succeeded by Davis. The latter was joined by other rovers, especially English and French, who had arrived across the Isthmus of Darien from the Caribbean, so that the buccaneers in the Bay of Panamá numbered over a thousand.

But the prosperity of these corsairs was well on the wane. In addition to the determined Jamaican policy, and to the mutinies and jealousies of the leaders and men, chiefly arising out of the partition of spoil or the loss of prize wealth through gambling at dice, there was the firm action of the government at home. When Sharp and a few others reached England in 1682 they were tried for piracy on the South Sea, and only by insufficiency of evidence evaded the gallows. In Jamaica certain notorious offenders were hanged. Excessive drunkenness and brutal debauchery impaired the efficiency of some cruises, though there were leaders who maintained stern discipline in their ships. Such captains as Sawkins and Watling, for instance, would never allow dice to be used on Sundays. Davis, who was lucky enough to reach the West Indies in 1688, after voyaging round the Horn and up the South Sea, just at the time when a proclamation had been issued offering the king's pardon to all buccaneers who quitted their roving, was not the ferocious pirate of fiction but a real commander of ships and men.

A further cause of the decline in buccaneering was the war which broke out between France and England in 1689; and certainly by 1690 the southern ocean was free of the buccaneer terror. During the Anglo-French war English buccaneers aided their own countrymen, and French filibusters received from France positions of high rank both afloat and ashore. After the Anglo-French hostilities were for the time ended by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, there was fresh prohibition and rovers were encouraged to leave piracy for planting. The times and prospects having now changed, many former buccaneers became planters and settled down as good colonial citizens, while others could not let the sea alone and became crews of merchantmen; but there were yet others who were too old sea-dogs to learn new habits.

### The Career of Teach

There were men such as Edward Teach who remained piratical to the last. Teach had come out from Bristol to Jamaica, and shipped as one of the crew in an English privateer during the French war, which lasted from 1702 to 1713. But when the Peace of Utrecht was signed in the latter year, he refused to recognize it, turned pirate and was joined by great numbers of seamen. Ashore he was the swaggering, terrorizing, self-indulgent braggart; afloat he was the fierce, untamable pirate of the story books, brave as a lion, brutal as a savage. He was killed in 1718, but not before the coasts of the West Indies, Carolina and Virginia had been reduced to a state of great trepidation.

But the thin legal line which divides piracy from privateering was scarcely visible to many captains and crews of desperate and adventurous spirit; and all those long-drawn-out wars of the eighteenth century, when letters of marque were freely granted, could not fail to encourage attacks on shipping by the same men in time of peace. It is well that privateering is now illegal, yet it is easy to understand that eighteenth-century pirates like Captain Avery and others who made Madagascar a convenient base and the Indian Ocean a happy roving ground for capturing East Indiamen; or Captain Bartholomew Roberts, who cruised in West Indian waters, off the east coast of America to Newfoundland, off the Guinea coast, and across the Atlantic; or that notorious American, Charles Gibbs, who was not born till 1794 and carried piracy well into the nineteenth century: found the call of the sea and the means of rapid personal enrichment too powerful to be resisted.

# THE BIRTH OF MODERN SCIENCE

## DISCOVERIES IN THE REALM OF PHYSICS THAT FOLLOWED THE INTELLECTUAL EMANCIPATION OF THE RENAISSANCE

SIR WILLIAM C. DAMPIER, F.R.S, D.Sc.

*Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of 'The History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion,' 'The Recent Development of Physical Science,' etc.*

MODERN science began its uninterrupted advance in the seventeenth century with the work of Galileo, but its germs are to be seen in our fragmentary knowledge of some of his predecessors. Especially in the manuscript note-books of that universal genius Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) are to be found forecasts of discoveries for which later men became famous. Though also a philosopher, Leonardo was primarily an engineer and an artist, and, therefore, he approached the problems of mechanics, optics, anatomy and physiology from the practical side and with a modern outlook.

Leonardo understood the impossibility of perpetual motion, the equivalent of the conservation of energy, and hence deduced the law of the lever, regarding it as the elementary machine from which other machines are derived. He recovered Archimedes' knowledge of the pressure of liquids; he began the study of their motion and the propagation of waves over their surfaces, and thus passed to the problem of waves in the air and the phenomena of sound. In astronomy he conceived of a mighty machine conforming to definite laws—a remarkable advance over the prevalent Aristotelian ideas that the heavenly bodies are divine, essentially different from our world, needing an "Unmoved Mover" to keep them in motion.

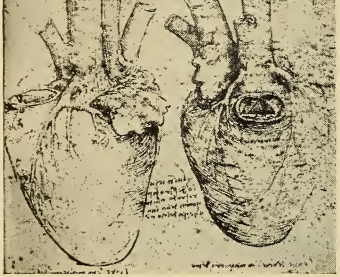
In addition, Leonardo recognized that parts of the earth have been laid down slowly through geological ages by deposits in water. He dissected human bodies and made drawings accurate in all details, those of the heart suggesting a knowledge of the function of the valves; he described the action of the blood as it circulates and makes and remakes the tissues of the body; he constructed a model of the optical parts of the eye, and showed how an image is formed on the retina. He dismissed scornfully the follies of alchemy, astrology and necromancy; for him Nature is orderly, non-magical, subject to immutable necessity, to be investigated by observation and mathematical reasoning founded upon it. Had Leonardo completed and published his work, science might have started on its course a hundred years before it did.

The next figure to emerge clearly from the mists of the pre-scientific age is that of the Polish mathematician Nicolaus Koppernigk (1473-1543), who Latinized his name as Copernicus. Copernicus was dissatisfied with the prevalent view that the earth is the center of the universe, and that the sun and planets move round it in cycles and epicycles, a theory worked out in complicated detail by Hipparchus, improved and recorded by Ptolemy, and firmly embedded in the scholastic synthesis. Copernicus took the vague speculation of Pythagoras that the center was the sun (probably in ignorance of its more definite formulation by Aristarchus), and showed how much more simply it explained the phenomena of the sky than did the Ptolemaic system.

THE heliocentric theory, thus revived by Copernicus after eighteen centuries of oblivion, needed the application of the telescope to demonstrate its power of coordinating the phenomena of the heavens. Moreover, it could not exhibit all its conquering simplicity while men believed with the ancients that motion must be maintained by the continual exertion of force; a new science of dynamics was needed. Both these great

advances were made by one man.

Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), the descendant of a noble but impoverished family of Florence, while lecturing on mathematics at Pisa, began those epoch-making researches which laid the foundation of modern physics and astronomy. Aristotle taught that things were naturally light or naturally heavy—light things



**LEONARDO AS ANATOMIST**

Leonardo da Vinci's note-books contain anatomical drawings accurate in detail. Those reproduced above from the section on the heart illustrate the meticulous care with which he recorded his observations on dissections, particularly the valves.

*Facsimile of original at Windsor Castle, Edouard Rouveyre, Paris*

tending upwards and heavy ones falling downwards, the faster the heavier they were.

The reasoning by which this conclusion was reached is a good illustration of the ideas in which infant science had to grow. Democritus, in his atomic philosophy, held that in a vacuum all bodies would fall at equal rates—rightly, indeed, but with no experimental facts to support his belief. Aristotle argues that this conclusion is incredible, and that, therefore, no vacuum can exist. With this he rejects all the allied concepts of the atomic theory.

If all substances were composed of the same ultimate particles as Democritus thought, Aristotle says that they would all be heavy by nature. A large mass of air or fire would then be heavier than a small mass of earth or water, and the earth or water could not sink through air or fire as it is known to do. Aristotle, in common with his contemporaries, had not grasped the idea now known as density or specific gravity, which seems first to have been understood by Archimedes; it is the weight per unit volume that really determines relative rise or fall. Aristotle concludes that the motion is due to an innate instinct leading everything to seek its natural resting-place, the heavier body faster than the lighter—a belief incorporated in the orthodox philosophy of the medieval schoolmen, and still firmly held when Galileo, by dropping bodies from the leaning tower of Pisa, showed the incredulous onlookers by the conclusive test of fact that, except for the retarding effect of air, all bodies fall at the same rate.

In 1592 Galileo became professor at Padua, and in 1609 he heard a rumor that a Dutchman had constructed a telescope which magnified distant objects. Galileo, from his knowledge of refraction, immediately constructed a similar instrument, and soon had made one good enough to magnify thirty diameters. At once discovery followed discovery. The surface of the moon, instead of being perfectly smooth and unblemished, as held by philosophers, was seen to be covered with markings which gave all the indications of rugged mountains and desolate valleys. Innumerable stars hitherto invisible flashed into sight, solving the problem of the Milky Way. Jupiter was seen to be accompanied in its orbit by four satellites with measurable times of revolution—a more complex model of the earth and its one satellite moving together round the sun as taught by Copernicus.

But, if these discoveries were, to his contemporaries, Galileo's most striking achievement, his establishment of the fundamental principles of dynamics is perhaps an even more enduring title to fame. Continuing the work on falling bodies, he satisfied himself that a body running down an inclined plane acquired the same velocity as though it had fallen

freely through the same vertical height. He was thus able to reduce the speed of falling bodies to measurable values, and to show experimentally that the velocity increased proportionately with the time, and the space traversed with the square of the time. He showed that a ball rolling down one plane would roll up another to an equal vertical height whatever the length of the plane. As the slope of the second plane was reduced the ball, in rising to the same height, rolled farther and farther horizontally.

HENCE it followed that a body once set in motion would move straight forward indefinitely, till stopped by friction or deflected by some other force. This result had to be taken as a crude fact. Galileo and those who came after him offered no explanation of its mystery. But, accepting the fact, great consequences followed. No Unmoved Mover or mighty vortex was needed to carry forward the planets; all that indicated an unknown force was their perpetual deflection from a straight path as they circled round the sun. The principle of inertia was established; the great problem of the physical universe was correctly formulated at last; and the man was at hand. In 1642, the year that Galileo died, Isaac Newton was born.

But before we trace the consequences of Galileo's work as it culminated in Newton's supreme achievement, other trains of thought must be followed. The new method of experiment used by Galileo was employed also by William Gilbert of Colchester (1540-1603), fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and president of the College of Physicians, who founded the sciences of magnetism and electricity. In his book, "De Magnete," Gilbert collected all that was known about magnetism, adding fresh observations.

He investigated the attraction between magnets, and showed that a magnetic needle when freely suspended not only set roughly north and south, as in the mariner's compass, but also dipped, in England, with its north pole downwards, through an angle depending on the latitude. He pointed out the importance of these results in navigation, and inferred from his experiments on the set of the magnetic needle that the earth itself must behave as a huge magnet, with its poles nearly but not quite coincident with the geographical poles. Gilbert also examined the forces developed when certain bodies, such as amber, are rubbed, and coined the word electricity from the Greek *ēlektron,* amber. To measure these forces he used a light metallic needle balanced on a point, and extended the number of bodies which gave the effect.

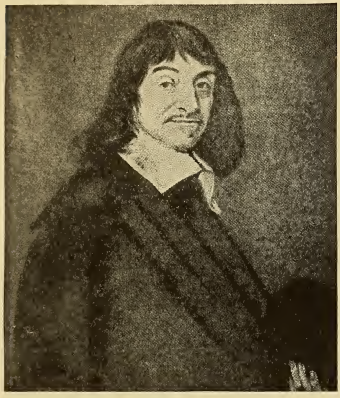
PIONEER OF ELECTRICIANS

By his experiments William Gilbert, physician to Queen Elizabeth, made important contributions to the sciences of magnetism and electricity. His principal work, 'De Magnete,' contains the theory that the earth is a large magnet.

*Engraving after the portrait by Harding*

Gilbert went further and speculated about the cause of magnetic and electric forces. Taking the idea of an ethereal, non-material substance from Greek philosophy, he imagined it to be emitted as an effluvium from the magnet or electrified substance, and by embracing neighboring bodies to exert attraction on them. He extended this idea to gravity, and even to explain the motions of the sun and planets, each globe having a characteristic spirit within and around it, determining the orbits of the planets and the order of the cosmos.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), lord chancellor of England, impressed by the failure of the scholastic philosophy to advance Man's knowledge of and power over Nature, set himself to consider the theory of this new method of experiment. He arrived at the view that, by recording all available facts, making all possible observations, performing all feasible experiments, and then by collecting and tabulating the results by rules which he himself very imperfectly laid down, the connections between the phenomena would



FOUNDER OF CARTESIANISM

René Descartes (1596-1650), mathematician and philosopher, settled in Holland in 1629 and lived there for twenty years. Shortly before leaving in 1649 for Sweden, where he died the next year, he sat to Franz Hals for this portrait.

*The Louvre; photo, Giraudon*

become manifest and general laws describing their relations would emerge.

It is easy to criticize this treatment. Advances in science are seldom made by the pure Baconian method; the number of phenomena and of the possible experiments is too great. At an early stage insight and imagination must come into play; a tentative hypothesis must be framed, its practical consequences deduced mathematically or by other logical reasoning, and compared with the facts by observation or experiment. If discrepancies appear, a new guess must be made, and so on till one is found that is in accordance with, or, as we may say "explains," all known facts. The hypothesis may then be called a theory, which may serve to co-ordinate and simplify knowledge, till modified or superseded by one more suited to the enlarged vision of a later time.

It is probable that Bacon had little or no influence on those who were actually carrying on experimental science. Nevertheless, he did something to improve instructed thought about the scientific problems of his day. The world had listened to many philosophies, and had seen no corresponding record of facts wherewith to test them. Rightly, therefore, in Bacon's eyes, authenticated facts were the urgent need of the age. Bacon himself made no successful or striking experimental contribution to natural knowledge, and his theory and method of science were over-ambitious in range and inadequate in practice. Yet he was the first to consider the philosophy of inductive science and profoundly influenced the French Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century. In terms of conscious power and statesmanlike eloquence, he expressed ideas much in advance of his age.

The writings of Francis Bacon lead us to the work of René Descartes (1596-1650), who forged new mathematical tools for physical science and also laid the foundations of modern critical philosophy. Descartes showed how much unverified assumption underlay the generally received philosophic ideas. He turned from the medieval accumulations of interwoven thought, built up from Greek philosophy and patristic doctrine, and tried to base a new philosophy on human consciousness and experience, ranging from the mental apprehension of God to observation and experiment in the physical world.

In mathematics he took the great step of applying the methods of algebra to the problems of geometry, and he also made an attempt to apply the known principles of terrestrial mechanics to celestial phenomena. And here, in spite of his main philosophic position, he seems to have based his treatment on the Greek and scholastic idea of antithesis. He contrasted the world of matter with the world of spirits. Spirits are personal,

discontinuous. Matter, therefore, must be impersonal, continuous, and its essence must be extension. The physical universe must be a closely packed, continuous plenum, with no empty spaces. In such a world motion can occur only in closed circuits; there is no vacuum into which a body can find room to pass. Hence Descartes concluded that the planets move at the centers of vortices, themselves carried in a greater whirlpool round the sun. As a bit of straw floating in an eddy on water is whirled to the center of motion, so planets are drawn to the sun, and falling bodies to the earth.

Another Frenchman, Blaise Pascal (1623-62), better known as a theologian, founded the mathematical theory of probability, originating in games of chance, but of great importance in modern science and philosophy. He was also an experimentalist. By carrying a barometer, an instrument newly invented by Torricelli in 1643, up the Puy de Dôme, he showed that the mercury column fell as he ascended and the pressure of the atmosphere became less. The invention of the barometer and this verification of its theory constituted one of the most important advances in the science of hydrostatics since the days of Archimedes.

We must now return to the history of the subjects of mechanics and astronomy in the age which preceded the life of Newton. The motions of the planets had been observed, measured and recorded by the Greeks. Inspired by the ideas of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe of Copenhagen carried such observations and measurements to a higher degree of accuracy, and the accumulated results of his lifetime fell into the hands of his follower, John Kepler (1571-1630). Kepler subjected Brahe's results to laborious examination, and at last found that they could be described by three statements: (1) that the planets travel in paths that are ellipses with the sun in one focus; (2) that the areas swept out by the radius vector in any orbit are proportional to the times; (3) that the squares of the periodic times are proportional to the cubes of the semi-axes major (or of the mean distances).

WE have now sketched in outline the state of physical knowledge in which Isaac Newton (1642-1727) began his great work. It is said that while idly watching a falling apple at his home at Woolsthorpe in Lincolnshire, when driven from Cambridge by the plague of 1666, he was led to speculate about the cause of the fall, and to wonder how far the apparent attraction of the earth for the apple would extend—whether it would reach the moon and explain that satellite's continuous fall towards the earth away from a straight path.

The idea of a force decreasing as the square of the distance increased seems already to have been in Newton's mind, and probably in other men's also, but there was one great difficulty in the way of gravitational theory, which Newton at all events appreciated. The sizes of the moon and of the earth are so small compared with the distance between them, that, roughly at all events, the whole of each body may be treated as concentrated in one place. But, as regards the apple, the earth is gigantic and near, and the problem of calculating for the first time the joint attraction of all its parts at a point on its surface was one of great difficulty. It was probably for this reason that Newton put away his calculations. But by 1684 the general question of gravitation was in the air. Several Fellows of the Royal Society (founded by a charter of Charles II in 1662) had been discussing in particular whether a planet moving under gravity, as suggested by Kepler's third law, would describe an ellipse in accordance with his first law. Halley, despairing of obtaining a solution from other people, went to visit Newton at Trinity College in Cambridge, and found that he had solved the problem five years before, though he had mislaid his notes.

HOWEVER, he wrote out a new solution for Halley, and sent it and "much other matter" to him in London. Thus stimulated, Newton returned to the subject, and in 1685, overcoming the difficulties of the mathematical integration, he proved that a sphere of gravitating matter attracts bodies outside it as though all its mass were concentrated at its center.

Successful demonstration of this very remarkable theorem justified the simplification by which the sun and planets were taken in calculations as massive

points, and cleared the way for Newton's original investigation, by which he sought to connect astronomical forces with the earth's pull on bodies falling to the ground. Using a new French measurement of the earth, made in 1679, he returned to his old question of the apple and the moon. The earth could now be taken as having a center of gravity at the center of its form, and the verification of his surmise was simple.

The distance of the moon is 60 radii of the earth, and the moon falls towards the earth away from a straight path by about 0.0044 feet in one second. If the inverse square law were true, the same force should be $(60)^2$ or 3,600 times as intense on the surface of the earth, and should cause a body to fall $3{,}600 \times 0.0044$, or about 16 feet in one second. This was in accordance with the observed acceleration of gravity. Thus Newton showed that the familiar fall of an apple or a stone to the ground and the majestic sweep of the moon in her orbit are due to one and the same unknown cause.

His rationalization of Kepler's laws extended the result to the planetary motions, and the whole known movements of the solar system could then be deduced from the one assumption that each particle of matter in that system acted as though it attracted every other particle with a force proportional to the product of the masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. The heavenly bodies, to Aristotle divine, incorruptible and different in kind from our imperfect world, were thus brought into the range of Man's inquiry, and were shown to work in one gigantic mechanism, in accordance with the dynamical principles established by the terrestrial experiments and inductions of Galileo and Newton. The publication in 1687 of Newton's "Principia" (The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy) marks perhaps the greatest epoch in the history of science.

The accuracy of Newton's synthesis proved to be amazing. For more than 200 years it sufficed to explain all known facts in gravitational astronomy, and to predict phenomena afterwards observed. Not till mass was found to increase at the enormous velocities of radioactive particles did trouble arise.

Nevertheless, unexplained "action at a distance" is unsatisfying to the human mind, and many attempts have been made to picture its mechanism by the impact of flights of ultra-mundane particles, or by transmitted strains in a universal aether. But when Einstein reduced matter and gravity to geometrical problems in a space-time continuum, these attempts were shown to be needless. The theory of gravitational force was then superseded by a wider and more accurate generalization—a supersession which Newton himself was prepared to expect. For the intervening two centuries the Newtonian formulation was more than enough to hold the field, and it still remains an approximation so accurate that the experimental resources of civilization must be exhausted in order to detect its divergence from Nature.

Among Newton's other results only the most important may here be noted. He finished laying the foundations of dynamics so well begun by Galileo. He made the fundamental distinction between inertia and gravity, mass and weight, and proved experimentally that they were proportional to each other. He also stated clearly the equivalence between action and reaction, with the deduction that the total momentum of a system cannot be changed by internal forces. In the "Principia" he incorporated a treatise on the dynamics of a particle.

Newton's greatest quality was his supreme power of applying mathematical reasoning to natural problems, and in using that power he much improved his mathematical tools. As early as 1666 he seems to have invented the infinitesimal calculus under the name of the method of fluxions, and used it for his own inquiries, though he was accustomed to throw the proofs when obtained into geometrical forms. Owing to a long delay in publication, a similar discovery was made by Leibniz, either quite independently or stimulated by a sight of some of Newton's manuscript papers, and, as Leibniz used a more convenient notation, his form of the calculus is now employed.

Again, Newton's researches in optics alone would have placed him in the front rank of men of science. In 1666 he "procured a triangular glass prism to

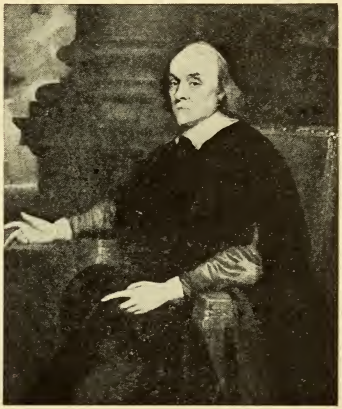
try the celebrated phenomena of colors," and finally proved that white light was composite, made up of a number of colors, which could be separated by one prism and recombined by another. He described the colors of thin plates, and suggested in explanation a theory of light which, for long discarded, is now seen to bear a remarkable resemblance to quite recent ideas, for to Newton, as to Planck and J. J. Thomson, "the structure of light is essentially atomic."

As physical science arose from the mechanics of practical life on the one side and from astronomy on the other, so biology had its origin partly in the practical needs of medicine and partly in Man's wonder at the phenomena of life in and around him. At the Renaissance it was thought that the revival of Greek learning would produce the same brilliant awakening in medicine as in literature and philosophy. A school of medical humanists arose to turn men's minds from medieval medicine, derived chiefly through Arabian channels from commentaries on Greek writers, to what were regarded as the fountain-heads of the science—the writings of Hippocrates and Galen themselves.

One of the first to break away from this school, which soon became classical and orthodox, was Paracelsus (1409-1541), traveller, alchemist and physician—or, as his enemies might think, quack doctor. His writings resemble those of other alchemists, who used a cloud of verbiage, calculated at once to enhance their reputation for learning among the vulgar and to conceal the methods by which their results had been reached.

But Paracelsus as a medical man with characteristic self-reliance turned from the authority of Galen, and applied the results of his own observation and experience to medical problems. The use of chemical drugs distinguished the followers of Paracelsus from the orthodox Galenic school, and in return chemistry developed new power when it was studied for the purpose of discovering substances to cure disease, as well as in the elusive hope of metallic transmutation. Medicine on the one hand and chemistry on the other owed much to alchemy and much to their own interactions.

The note-books of Leonardo da Vinci show a surprising knowledge of human anatomy, but the first to publish such knowledge to the contemporary world was Andreas Vesalius, a Fleming by birth, trained in France and professor at Padua, Bologna and Pisa. In 1543 Vesalius produced a book on anatomy, based not on what Galen taught, but on what he himself had seen in dissection and



**HARVEY THE PHYSIOLOGIST**

Perhaps the most important contribution ever made to physiological science was an 'Anatomical Disquisition on the Motion of the Heart and Blood,' published by William Harvey (1578-1657) in 1628. This portrait of the great physiologist was painted by Cornelius Jansen.

*Courtesy of the Royal College of Physicians*

was prepared to demonstrate in the lecture room.

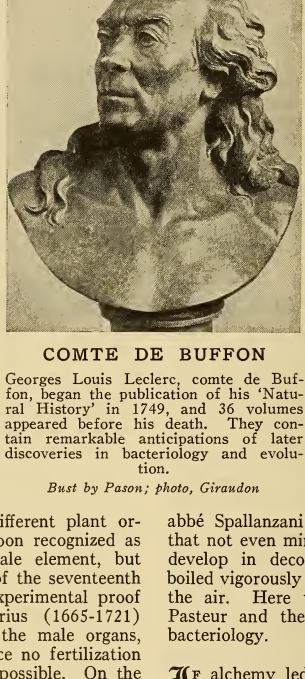
Hence, before the end of the sixteenth century, anatomy, first of the biological sciences, was freed from the trammels of ancient authority. Physiology was slower to escape. Michael Servetus, an Aragonese physician and theologian, discovered many of the facts of the circulation of the blood. But its actual mechanism and the function of the heart in maintaining the flow were only made clear when William Harvey (1578-1657) was led "to give his mind to vivisections."

Harvey was physician to James I and then to Charles I, who gave him all fa-

cilities and showed personal interest in his researches. His book on the heart was published in 1628, and a second book, "De Generatione Animalium," in 1651. This contains the most notable advance in embryology recorded since the time of Aristotle. Harvey's work on the circulation of the blood was completed by Malpighi in 1661, as soon as the application of the microscope made visible the structure and function of the capillary vessels connecting the arteries and the veins.

The treatment of disease by vegetable drugs led to an increase in the knowledge of plants cultivated, at first in the gardens of monastery and convent, and then in those maintained by societies of apothecaries. "Herbals"—books containing descriptions of plants and their properties, medicinal and culinary—began to appear at the end of the sixteenth century, and to find their way to the shelves of public and private libraries.

The microscope led first to the study of the anatomy of plants, and later to correct ideas about the functions of the different plant organs. The fruit was soon recognized as developed from a female element, but it was not till the end of the seventeenth century that definite experimental proof was given by Camerarius (1665-1721) that the anthers were the male organs, and that in their absence no fertilization or seed formation was possible. On the sex organs of plants Linnaeus (1707-78), the Swedish botanist, founded the first systematic classification of plants, a classification only superseded by the modern method of grouping plants according to their probable natural relations in the scheme of evolution.



**COMTE DE BUFFON**

Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, began the publication of his 'Natural History' in 1749, and 36 volumes appeared before his death. They contain remarkable anticipations of later discoveries in bacteriology and evolution.

*Bust by Pason; photo, Giraudon*

A corresponding development in the knowledge of animals was stimulated by the information acquired by travellers and by the arrival of specimens in royal menageries. The close of the first stage in modern zoological science was marked by the publication by Buffon (1707-88) of an encyclopedic "Natural History of Animals." Here again the microscope when applied gave an insight first into intimate structure and then into the functions of the organs of animals, and showed the existence of vast numbers of minute living bodies, both animal and vegetable, previously unsuspected.

In ancient and medieval times men believed that living things might arise spontaneously from dead matter. Frogs, for instance, it was held, might be generated from mud by sunshine. The first serious doubt seems to have been raised by Francesco Redi (1626-97), who showed that, if the flesh of a dead animal were protected from insects, no grubs or maggots appeared in it. Redi's work was confirmed and extended by the abbé Spallanzani (1729-99), who proved that not even minute forms of life would develop in decoctions which had been boiled vigorously and then protected from the air. Here we see anticipations of Pasteur and the discoveries of modern bacteriology.

If alchemy led by one path to medicine, by a broader road it opened up the field of modern experimental chemistry. The problem of matter, like that of astronomy, appealed strongly to Greek philosophers, and, with the recovery of Greek learning at the Renaissance, their formulation and attempted

solutions of the problem became known to the modern world.

When matter is divided and subdivided, do its properties remain unchanged? Is earth always earth and water always water however far the process of division is carried, or are they formed of simpler substances combined in different proportions—the elements of which all matter is made?

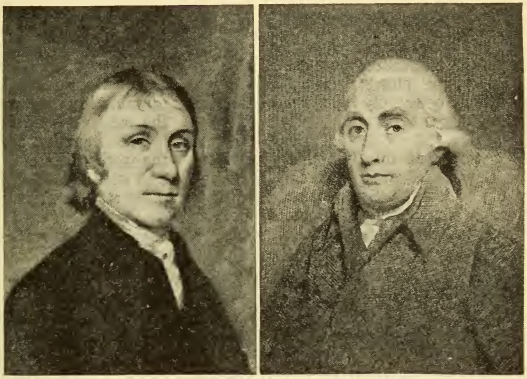
The two chief answers to these questions offered by the ancients were the theory of the four elements of Empedocles—earth, water, air and fire, a solid, a liquid, a gas, and a substance even more tenuous—and the atomic theory of Democritus, as transmitted by Lucretius.

Empedocles explained differences in properties by different combinations of his four elements. Democritus went further, and referred differences in properties to differences in size, shape, position and motion of particles of the same ultimate nature moving in empty space. Thus the atomic theory of Democritus nearly resembled modern views, but it had no basis secure in experimental fact, and could not withstand the destructive criticism of Aristotle. Because the atomic theory did not conform to Aristotle's preconceived ideas and deductions, such as the impossibility of a vacuum, he rejected it altogether, and the four elements of Empedocles and their derivatives held sway over the minds of men till brought up against the ninety and more different types of matter of modern chemistry, themselves now resolved into the common bases of protons and electrons.

All these philosophic speculations, though of much interest, were of little use till experimental knowledge was available. Thus the origins of chemistry are to be sought and found in the laboratories of the Alexandrian, Arabian and medieval alchemists, searching in vain for the water of life or the touchstone which turns base metal into gold. Here and there an alchemist watched his crucibles with a single eye to knowledge, and did not hide the results he obtained.

In this way throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries new chemical substances were coming to light, discovered in the search for medical remedies and industrial materials. But for some time there was no corresponding advance in chemical theory. Empedocles' four elements in the hands of the alchemists had been reduced to three, thought to be sulphur, mercury and salt, and some form of this view was generally accepted, though the atomic theory was revived, more from the physical than from the chemical point of view, by Pierre Gassendi and Robert Boyle in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Boyle, Newton and others of their school used the atomic theory to explain the nature of heat as the vibration of



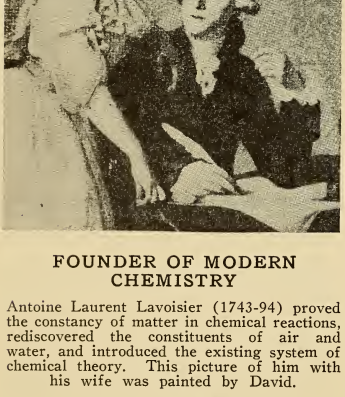
PIONEERS IN CHEMICAL SCIENCE

Joseph Black (1728-99), here shown (right) as limned by Raeburn, was the discoverer of carbon dioxide and evolved the theory of latent heat. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), seen on the left, isolated oxygen and has been styled the father of pneumatic chemistry. This portrait of him by Mrs. Sharples is in the National Portrait Gallery in London.

ultimate particles. Here again they approached modern views, though, since adequate experimental basis was lacking, their explanation had to wait nearly two hundred years for general acceptance.

The chief difficulty of the early chemists was to understand the phenomena of flame and combustion. When bodies are burnt, something, it seems, escapes. This something was called "phlogiston"—the principle of fire—by G. E. Stahl (1660-1734), physician to the king of Prussia, and his theory dominated the chemical ideas of the whole eighteenth century. Boyle had shown that when metals were burnt the solid increased in weight; therefore, phlogiston must possess a negative weight, and Aristotle's conception of a body essentially light was born again out of due time.

In terms of this hypothesis chemical science learnt to express its facts; owing to its influence, isolated investigations which pointed to more modern views failed to impress the minds of chemists; they had to be rediscovered when time had undermined the phlogistic theory, and prepared the way for a simpler and more natural interpretation of the phenomena. In 1669, a century before the final discovery of oxygen, its existence in air and its significance in respiration and combustion had been demonstrated by John Mayow, a physician who practised in Bath and London. Again, oxygen was prepared from heated saltpetre by Borch in 1678, and once more in 1729 by Hales, who actually collected it over water. The isolation of hydrogen may even be traced back to Paracelsus, who described the action of iron filings on vinegar. Yet all these observations were forgotten and their meaning lost; air was still believed to be the only gaseous element.



FOUNDER OF MODERN CHEMISTRY

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) proved the constancy of matter in chemical reactions, rediscovered the constituents of air and water, and introduced the existing system of chemical theory. This picture of him with his wife was painted by David.

*Photo, Bulloz*

The beginning of a change appears in the work of Joseph Black of Edinburgh, who about 1755 discovered that a new ponderable gas, distinct from atmospheric air, was combined in the alkalis. He named this gas "fixed air." It is what we now call carbon dioxide or carbonic acid. Nevertheless, phlogiston still survived. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) prepared oxygen by heating mercuric oxide, and discovered its unique power of supporting combustion. He also showed that it was essential in the respiration of animals. But he described it as dephlogisticated air, and failed to perceive that his discovery had turned a new page in science. Again, Henry Cavendish (1731-1810) demonstrated the compound nature of water in 1781, and thus finally dethroned it from its old and proud position as one of the elements. But he still described its constituent gases as phlogiston and dephlogisticated air.

It was reserved for Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94), who was sent to the guillotine with the remark that the Republic had no need of savants, to repeat the experiments of Priestley and Cavendish, and to grasp the fact that it was unnecessary to invent a body with properties fundamentally different from those of other material substances. By the unanswerable evidence of the balance, he showed that while, in a series of chemical changes, matter may change its state, it does not change in amount—the quantity of matter is the same at the end as at the beginning of every operation, and

can be traced throughout by its weight.

The constituents of water were seen to be gases with the ordinary properties of matter, possessing mass and weight, and Lavoisier named them hydrogen (the water-forming element) and oxygen (the acid-forming element). Burning and respiration were alike in kind: one a fast and the other a slow process of oxidation, each leading to an increase in weight equal to the weight of oxygen combined. The conception of phlogiston with negative weight became unnecessary and vanished from science. Thus the principles established by Galileo and Newton in mechanics were carried over into chemistry.

Simultaneously, the Newtonian astronomy was advanced to greater accuracy with the help of more modern methods by Lagrange and Laplace, and, chiefly through its interpretation by the French mathematicians and philosophers, Newton's elucidation of the mechanics of the solar system was used to support a scheme of thought which he himself would have been the last to approve. Newton in his modesty likened himself to a child finding pretty pebbles on the seashore, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before him. He held that natural phenomena showed "that there is a Being, incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipresent, Who, in infinite Space," upholds and controls the universe. But some of his later disciples thought that the system he inaugurated might in their hands explain all things in Heaven and earth, past, present and to come, in terms of mechanical conceptions. Matter and force had come to seem familiar, and what is familiar the mind tends to think that it understands.

The latter part of the eighteenth century and nearly all the nineteenth century were filled with the reverberations of a mechanical philosophy which was imagined by some to be the necessary consequence of the triumphs of an analytical natural science, starting with Newtonian astronomy and culminating in different directions in the work of Dalton, Joule and Darwin. Many of the votaries of that philosophy failed to see that, powerful as contemporary science was within its own limits, those limits were definitely circumscribed. It needed our modern awakening to the stupendous complexity of Nature—an awakening which began in the last decade of the nineteenth century—to show that the age which opened with the birth of modern science had become too self-satisfied in its prime, and was destined to see but the prelude of the wider revelation which offers even more beautiful pebbles for our Newtons to discover.

# THE FRANCE OF LOUIS QUATORZE

STUDY OF THE ACTUAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS BENEATH THE BRILLIANT SUPERSTRUCTURE OF THE MONARCHY

ROGER H. SOLTAU

*Professor of European History, American University of Beirut, Syria; Author of 'French Parties and Politics,' 'Pascal,' 'French Political Thought in the 19th Century,' etc.*

ALTHOUGH officially king of France at the age of five, in 1643, Louis XIV did not begin his reign until the death in 1661 of his prime minister, Cardinal Mazarin. He was then twenty-three when absolute power came into his hands, and he still held that power when he died at seventy-seven. During those fifty-four years the world around him changed; and as the times changed, so did the man. And yet it is not impossible to fix some of his characteristics, at least sufficiently to form a fairly accurate idea of his person and work.

This king, for whom life seemed one long ceremonial, was one of the hardest-working and most professionally conscientious of men, taking his "royal trade" more seriously than many a man his own duties.

Mentally, Louis was of very average ability, with no originality of views or any great power to see very far ahead. He would have made a very poor ruler had it not been for the one great quality not only of recognizing talents in others, which is not rare, but of not being afraid to surround himself with the help and advice of men vastly superior in ability, which is a much rarer gift. Of those ministers, it should be added, not one (except perhaps Colbert) was a genius; but they were all of them highly efficient.

As an individual, however, Louis XIV was utterly spoilt by flattery. Brought up in an atmosphere of adulation he could swallow the grossest compliments and could brook no criticism, particularly of his fancied powers as an artist, a musician, a poet and a dancer. He thought himself unsurpassed as diplomat, statesman and warrior; and, while not above taking tactful advice, was apt to visit heavily on the offender any disparagement of his prowess. He was further possessed by an insatiable lust for military glory, which he pursued at any cost to the peace of Europe and to the prosperity of his people.

In a word, there was a great contrast between the outward manner of the king, self-controlled, dignified, courteous, loving order and rule, and his restless, ambitious, self-satisfied mind, capable of setting Europe on fire for a dynastic gain or a wounded pride. Of love for his people he had none. He was religious, in a kind of way; of a religion that taught him neither mercy nor temperance, which made him see in persecution a way of atoning for the sins of his private life.

An analysis of the king's day, and of the routine that never altered unless Louis was on the field with his armies, shows that he was never permitted, we will not say "to be alone," for this he never was, but even to enjoy the comparative privacy of a few friends' company. It is difficult for a person of the twentieth century to realize the minuteness and cumbrousness of the daily royal ceremonial. From the moment of waking to falling asleep, every minute and every action was fixed and regulated.

Beginning the day about 8 A.M., and after a "levée" in which the presenting of every garment was the function of some specified dignitary, the king heard mass and then attended council. The royal luncheon meant endless formalities, the carrying in procession of the royal napkins in a silver vessel (before which even princesses of the blood must bow), and of the dishes, escorted by an armed guard. The king usually ate without company at table, although at "informal" meals a few members of the royal family

or household might sit down with him.

In the afternoon a walk or hunting, then more business with his ministers; and in the evening some entertainment and reception, with supper at ten—again a highly ceremonial meal—and bed at midnight, a process as complex as the morning rising. All this was gone through by the king while surrounded with crowds not only of courtiers but of visitors of all kinds. This kind of life Louis endured for half a century without ever flinching from it or even complaining.

A great contrast existed between the glamor of Versailles and the effective work of government, between the divine-right theory and practical authority. Fortunately for France, Louis XIV believed that to take advice was a sign of prudence and soundness, not of weakness. Nothing of importance was ever done without reference either to the general council of state, the real source of all royal acts, or to one of its four standing committees, made up of actual responsible officials. Louis presided himself over each of those sections in its weekly meeting, leaving to the responsible minister the carrying out of the decisions.

These ministers were all of them middle-class civil servants who had served some apprenticeship in less important administrative posts before being appointed to the Versailles staff. In many cases they were specially trained by their fathers as their successors; both Colbert and Louvois belonged to "ministerial families." They were, therefore, highly competent technically; but, having no standing save the royal favor, they were not likely to oppose the will of a king who could at any time reduce them to nothingness.

The building up of a political organization capable of establishing a single monarchical authority over very diverse elements had been the work of Richelieu and Mazarin. It had entailed a twofold process—the setting up, in every place and for every department of life, of a royal civil service representing the king's law, and the simultaneous elimination of any local bodies or officials capable of exercising any authority that could raise itself against the king's.

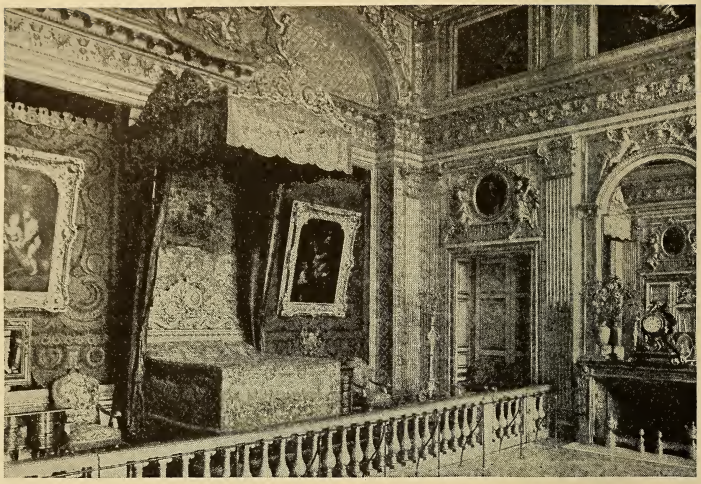
Of all this authority the effective agent was the intendant, a royal official instructed to "supervise" every aspect of local life. The very area of his power indicated the purpose of his function; his constituency was none of the old traditional divisions, but a "généralité"—that is, an entirely artificial administrative unit, created for financial purposes, normally bigger than a province (there were in 1661 thirty-two provinces and twenty-three generalities), but in no case corresponding exactly to one of these, so as to break thereby the provincial corporate spirit.

THE SUN KING

First of a series of colored drawings made in 1653 for a court ballet in which Louis XIV himself took part, this reproduction shows the young king garbed as 'Le Roi Soleil,' by which title he was generally known.

*Hennin Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon*

Over this district reigned the intendant,



THE ROYAL BEDCHAMBER AT VERSAILLES

On September 1, 1715, Louis XIV died in this richly decorated bedchamber, where he had received daily, for so many years, the homage and attention of chosen nobles. The wood panelling is of white and gold, and in front of the bed is the gilt railing beyond which his courtiers watched the complicated performance of his toilet. Above the bed are gilt stucco carvings by Nicholas Coustou.

*Photo, Giraudon*

created by the royal will and answerable to the king alone. He did not replace any pre-existing official, but gradually absorbed into himself all the real powers exercised by everybody else. The provincial governor was still there, but the intendant actually controlled all armed forces; local courts went on sitting, but the intendant could himself try any cause in which the royal authority was particularly interested. At the sitting of the provincial estates the intendant practically fixed the agenda, advised, demanded, threatened if need be. The towns might, indeed, have their mayors and corporations, but the intendant virtually made the elections, checked all accounts, really governed.

He was, furthermore, charged with the task of seeing that the king's laws were put into execution, and this was no sinecure, for France had the distinction of "possessing the finest and wisest laws in Europe, but also the reputation of being the state where they were most openly ignored." The intendant, therefore, had his hands full, particularly as he had to add to those direct duties the task of watching public opinion, and generally dealing with all other affairs concerning the welfare of the king's subjects.

Besides, it must be remembered that in the last resort the king was the sole source of all authority and law. Judges were only his delegates; he kept the ultimate right of quashing the verdict of any court, of pardoning, and also of condemning where a lower court had acquitted. He could—and did—imprison any of his subjects for reasons of his own choosing.

It is hardly necessary to add that under such a regime there was no freedom of writing or of speech. We would expect—and we do find—a rigid censorship of all books and pamphlets; nothing must be printed without the royal sanction.

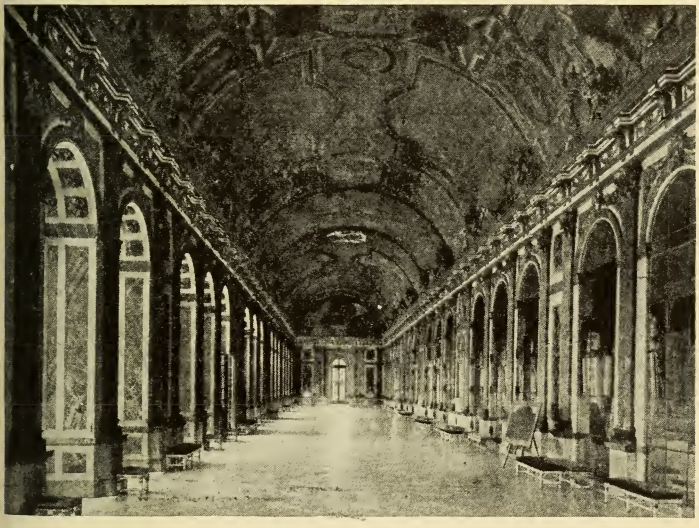
Despite all these restrictions, and the

terrible punishments inflicted on offenders, opposition to the regime was constantly manifesting itself in literature. Someone has called the "ancien régime" an "absolute monarchy limited by songs," and this is true. At the height of Louis' power we find pamphlets, lampoons, verse of the most violent and often scurrilous sort.

Never absolutely silent, the opposition grew more vocal as the reign went on, and was particularly violent in the last years. Its background and real force was the misery of peasant and artisan; its spokesmen all those to whom the system did not give adequate scope for self-expression, and denied any political freedom: lawyers jealous of royal officials; merchants and manufacturers, wealthy and prosperous, angry that their political status should be so inferior to their economic power; noblemen deprived of any political or administrative work, fuming at their enforced idleness.

It is impossible, in fact, to understand how revolutionary ideas could spread as they did in the eighteenth century if we do not realize the unbroken existence of currents of opposition which, held in check by censorship, and weak when royal policy was successful, were ready to spring forth with violence if reverses abroad or misery at home gave them any opportunity.

We must, therefore, not exaggerate the respect and devotion shown to the monarchy in the reign of Louis XIV. There was really very little free devotion to the person of the sovereign. Obedience was largely based on fear, and fear came from success. A victorious monarch could command allegiance; a defeated king became that most helpless of men, an impotent despot.



GLORIES OF THE VERSAILLES OF LOUIS XIV

In 1678 Mansart built the 'Hall of Mirrors' in the palace of Versailles. It faces west, and has 34 arches, 17 containing windows which overlook the gardens and 17 filled with large mirrors. Used as a throne room on state occasions, the lofty apartment contains pictures by Charles Le Brun and numerous inscriptions glorifying Louis XIV. It was here that the German Empire was proclaimed in January, 1871, and that after the Great War the Peace Treaty of 1919 was signed.

*Photo, Alinari*

Any account of the economic conditions of France during the period under review is but the story of Colbert's economic policy. The study of his aims and methods, of the difficulties he encountered and of his final failure, will give us a more complete and exact picture of the times than any mere formal survey.

The twenty odd years during which Colbert controlled a great part of the resources and policy of France are one of the great "might-have-beens" of the history of any people endeavoring to break away from its traditional policy and aims. He visualized for France a new type of greatness and power, the pursuit of which would have virtually created a new France and perhaps a new Europe. Seeing in economic and commercial prosperity more real power than in territorial aggrandizement or military success, he wanted to transform France from a continental into a great naval power, to make her more interested in trade than in diplomacy or conquest.

Colbert's arguments were undoubtedly sound, and he was certainly right in his fundamental assumptions. But success was possible only on certain conditions which he did not altogether grasp: he minimized the material difficulties to be overcome; he did not take an altogether correct view of the best methods to be pursued; and he failed altogether to allow for tradition and national psychology.

We need not dwell on such initial and removable difficulties as defective communications, the absence of a uniform system of weights and measures, and an archaic system of economic regulations which were a certain hindrance to trade.

A more serious problem was the existence of numerous restrictions on internal commerce: the mass of petty regulations which hedged round every trade and industry, customs barriers around each province, and, in particular, the prohibition of the movement of corn from one part of the country to any other part.

This matter is too important to be discussed without some reference to Colbert's economic theories. The order of the day was "mercantilism"—the theory that, money being the truest form of wealth and being limited in amount, a country is prosperous in so far as it exports goods for which it receives money, and avoids importing goods for which it has to pay money out. This theory ignores the fact that international trade is based on exchange, and that, therefore, no country can be always selling and never buying; but it makes the grosser mistake of ignoring the fact that wealth is not a fixed amount but something created by the application of human labor to the gifts of Nature, and that, consequently, prosperity is not necessarily obtained at the expense of that of other countries.

We see at once the deadly danger there was in applying mercantilism on a small scale—that is, in thinking of provincial economic prosperity instead of national. In a country where local feeling was still very strong, it was unavoidable that people should look on the province as a unit and defend themselves against the alleged competition of other provinces; particularly did they husband with jealousy their essential food supplies and not trouble overmuch about producing more than their bare needs. Even had Colbert been a greater economist, he could scarcely have broken down the barriers of provincial prejudice; reforming ministers of a later and more enlightened period tried in vain—ignorance and vested interests were too strong. France had to wait until the Revolution for the establishment of internal free trade.

But behind obstacles and defective theories there lay a much bigger problem. For Colbert's policy of France as a great economic and naval power to be realized there was one essential condition—it must be followed steadily to the exclusion of any other, by the one person in whose hands lay the deciding of such matters, namely the king.

What did Colbert demand of the king? That he should put economic prosperity first, that he should not pursue military glory or territorial expansion for their own sakes, but should fight only such wars as could bring practical advantages, and that the wars he did wage should be conducted efficiently and rapidly. And, lastly and chiefly, that he should be in all things and in every detail rigidly economical.

The mere statement of these conditions is enough to make us realize that they could not possibly be fulfilled. More was involved, however, than the mere personal character of Louis. Against

Colbert was also ranged the resistance of French character and French tradition. The very fact that France had large natural resources fought against him: she was too prosperous to want more, she had no goad to make her exert herself. Nor was she interested in the sea or in colonization.

Colbert showed himself really great in three departments—industrial development, naval and colonial expansion and financial administration, without, however, achieving any striking successes, for the very forces that brought to naught his wider schemes proved an obstacle to the success of his minor reforms also.

The striking feature of his industrial policy is his apparent forecast of what were to be two pillars of the modern industrial system—the factory and the vast capitalized undertaking. In an age when home industries and small concerns still prevailed, he saw the limitations of such a system and the need for expansion, and tried to get this carried out. He endeavored to help the establishment of factories in various ways, by granting privileges to the more important ones (remission of taxation, both for the undertaking as a whole and for the employees, and monopoly of certain manufactures), and soon set on foot about a hundred "royal factories," of which that of the Gobelins may be regarded as typical.

At the same time he encouraged people to invest in industrial in preference to state bonds, but all without avail; people preferred poor investments to the risks of industry. Nor did the manufacturers support him; they objected to his preferential treatment of "key industries," to his attempts at directing trade into channels that were more politically useful than immediately profitable; and he complains most bitterly that "they only thought of their ease and of the convenience of their trade, wanting entire freedom of commerce for the sake of beggarly profits."

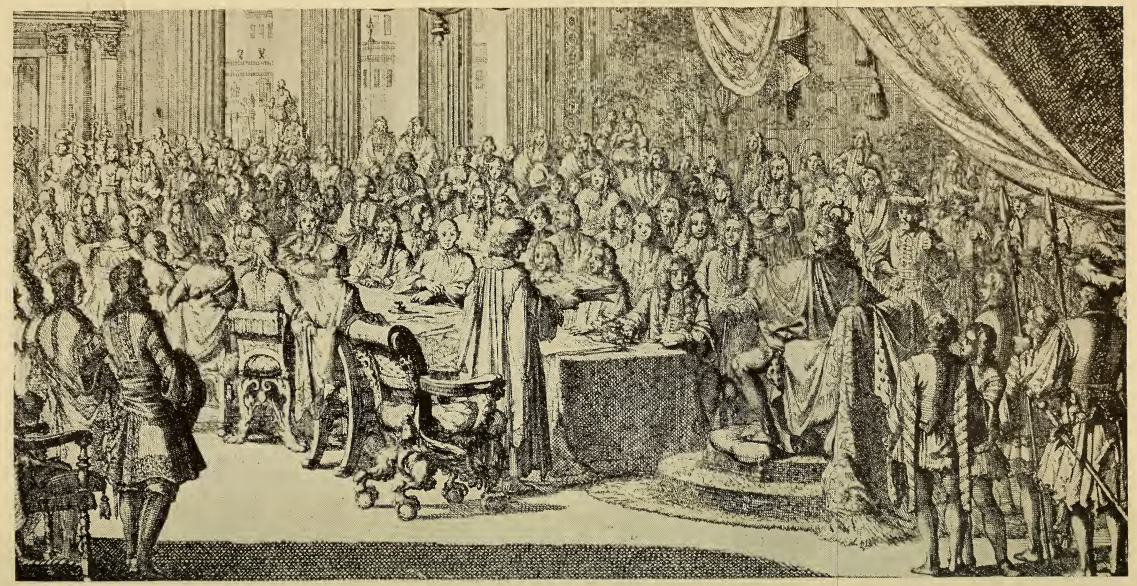
Colbert's economic policy would have had more lasting results had it not been for the terrible economic consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. France lost many sailors; her silk, lace, tapestry, glove and cloth industries saw their most skilful hands going to enrich foreign rivals. The banking world lost many of its leading lights. In a general way the peasant, virtually tied to his farm as his sole wealth, remained; the industrial worker left, knowing his services would be appreciated in a freer land. Louis XIV made to his enemies gifts of men and wealth that were worth to them far more than many battles. He laid the foundations of the economic power of Prussia, and greatly helped England in her bid for the commercial supremacy of the eighteenth-century world.

Side by side with industrial development at home, Colbert sought commercial expansion without; he wanted markets for French goods and French agencies to export them. These markets had to be mainly outside Europe. Being almost constantly at war with most of her neighbors, France could not export to them; besides which, even in times of peace, her high protective tariffs created reprisals barriers abroad. But Colbert saw the possibilities of a colonial empire sucking up French goods as a sponge, and, following the custom of the time, saw in commercial companies the agents of colonization.

Of the five great companies he either founded or tried to develop, two only, the East India and Canada companies, enjoyed even a short-lived prosperity. The colonization of Madagascar was an absolute failure. An attempt to expand the Levant trade was no more successful, owing to pirates and to the slackness and corruption of the officials. The East India Company never received adequate financial backing, the public refusing to take up its shares. The Company's monopoly of Eastern trade had to be withdrawn in 1682.

Matters fared somewhat better in Canada. Colbert had a real emigration policy, sending out every year farm hands and strong country girls. As a result the population increased rapidly—the 2,500 of 1663 had become 10,200 in 1683; the densely populated French Canada of today is largely the fruit of Colbert's efforts. He was unsuccessful, however, in his attempts at racial fusion by the intermarriage of Indians and French settlers, largely owing to the opposition put up by the Jesuit missionaries.

But, on the whole, Colbert's colonial policy failed. It failed because the colonies were too far away for people to be



**LOUIS XIV FORMALLY REVOKES THE EDICT OF NANTES**

From the beginning of his reign it was the firm determination of Louis XIV to suppress the freedom of worship granted to French Protestants by Henry IV's Edict of Nantes in 1598. Fiercely intolerant, he secured the passing of measure upon measure to restrict the liberties of the Protestants and, finally, in October, 1685, his policy achieved its culmination in the revocation of the Edict, the prohibition of Protestant worship and the forbidding of Protestants to leave the country. This engraving is by Jan Luiken.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo. Giraudon*

interested in them. Colonization needs men, and Frenchmen were no more prepared to leave home then than they are now, preferring the known, however meager, to the unknown, however plentiful. Colonization needs money—money invested by men with vision, who are prepared to take risks; French investors preferred certain and rapid small returns to distant and problematic gains. In his colonial schemes as elsewhere Colbert's real enemy was national character.

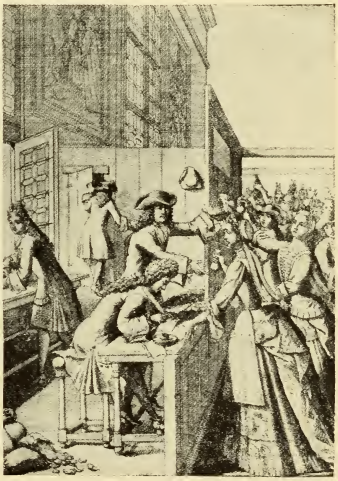
The third department of Colbert's activities, finance, is so closely linked with that of the general destinies of the country that it demands fuller treatment; an understanding of the financial system of France in the seventeenth century is essential to any understanding of the period as a whole.

Few events have so profoundly differentiated the histories of France and of England as the fact that the French kings managed to obtain that control of finance which eluded the grasp of the English kings. The States-General failed to establish themselves as an essential part of the French political system because they failed to make themselves indispensable for the obtaining of money. Louis XIV, like his predecessors, was, therefore, the master of his subjects' wealth. The king did not have to ask, he took; and was answerable to no one for the use he made of the money. The political consequences of such a power in the building up of absolutism are obvious.

The royal revenues in the seventeenth century came from five principal sources: 1. The revenues from the crown lands. 2. The "taille," or direct land tax. 3. The "gabelle," or salt tax, salt being a royal monopoly. 4. The "aids," the term used for various forms of indirect taxation. 5. Customs duties, whether levied at the frontiers of the country or on goods moving from one province to the other. There was yet a sixth and essential source of income, namely borrowing.

None of those taxes were levied equally in all parts of the kingdom and on all classes of society. The salt tax was not levied at all in certain provinces, while other provinces had bought their partial freedom from it. The taille was levied in a different way in almost every province, and the assessments varied, for no reason, to an extraordinary degree. The aids were raised only in certain parts of the kingdom, and also varied from province to province.

Further, in every part of the country whole classes of people were for various reasons exempted from taxation. All clergy, all nobles, all members of the royal household, nearly all officials paid no taille, whether on land or on income; and most of those privileged people



PAYING THE POLL TAX

The poverty of the French Crown in 1695 drove Louis XIV to the imposition of direct taxation, and a graduated poll tax, ignoring all class distinctions, was levied. This picture shows the tax-payers lining up before the collectors.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'*

claimed various forms of exemption from the other taxes they might have to pay. The one person who could never escape was the peasant.

If we pass to the method of collection, we find the same chaos. Some of the taxes were farmed out for lump sums to private tax-gatherers; in other cases a district was assessed at a certain total, and the collector had to do the partitioning of the tax between the tax-payers, being himself personally responsible for any deficiencies. Another device was to force

the leading inhabitants to collect taxes for their village or district.

Such being the system, it is easy to understand that the moneys reaching the royal coffers were quite inadequate for the heavy expenditure of the crown. From times immemorial the king had, therefore, been forced to resort to various expedients—sale of offices, creation and sale of sinecures, and even of titles; depreciation of the currency, reduction of the rates of interest on loans—and, particularly, borrowing on a large scale.

The net result was that in 1661 the French monarchy was heavily in debt, and that Colbert's first work was to try to restore some kind of order in the chaos. It would be unfair to him not to admit that he was eminently successful in this part of his task. All that good administration could do was done; corruption was greatly diminished; an end was put to the terrible leakage between the taxpayers' pocket and the royal coffers; assessments were rectified; and terrible punishments visited all those who were trying to enrich themselves at the king's expense.

Colbert was thus able to effect a considerable increase in the royal revenue. But while the revenue more than doubled in the ten years 1666-1676, the surplus of 1661 had by 1670 become a deficit of three million, and henceforward deficits are a yearly occurrence.

In vain does Colbert warn the king. Between 1670 and 1679 the total expenses nearly doubled, while the revenue decreased owing to the bad trade resultant upon war. Colbert found himself, therefore, reduced to the financial expedients he had constantly blamed in his predecessors: creation of splendid sinecures that were put up for sale, sale of royal domains, sale of privileges, creation of monopolies (for example, of postal services in 1672, of tobacco in 1674), new taxes, clipping of coinage—and, of course, loans.

In spite of these measures, the deficits went on increasing. Colbert warned the king again, tried to open his eyes to the true state of affairs—all in vain. On September 6, 1683, Colbert died, worn out by years of hard work.

Once Colbert's critical eye was removed, all the old evils gradually reappeared. None of his successors in the treasury had anything like his abilities, while the king's need for money went on growing. The expenditure on royal buildings increased year by year, and revenues were always inadequate. To all purposes France was bankrupt by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The root causes of this financial chaos were wrong conceptions of what constituted good finance and profitable expenditure. France was a wealthy country, but at no time was the king's revenue proportionate to the country's resources.

Hence, while the state was in perpetually increasing difficulties, the country itself was not necessarily getting poorer. The "rentier" class was growing rapidly, the middle class was becoming wealthy and acquiring a real control of the national wealth. It must not be forgotten that the aristocracy was sharing the fate of the monarchy; few nobles were able to stand the expense of life at court, and most were obliged to do as the king did—borrow, and mortage their estates. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that monarchy and aristocracy were bankrupt long before the Revolution—and the creditors were the middle class, who put both into the bankruptcy court in 1789.

If we want to get a correct picture of the France of Louis XIV we cannot confine ourselves to the court. France was not Versailles or even Paris. The outstanding feature of seventeenth-century France is the fact that she was then, as she was to remain for another two centuries at least, primarily an agricultural country. The "average Frenchman" of the time was a peasant. He might be a farmer-owner (about one-fifth of the soil was in peasant ownership), but he was more likely to be a tenant. He might have as his landlord a town-dweller, a merchant, a professional man (another fifth of the soil belonged to the middle class), a nobleman, or some ecclesiastical body; his tenancy might be of many forms, varying from serfdom of a mild type to the payment of a rental so small as to leave him virtually independent. In any case his holding was almost certain to be small enough to be worked by him, his wife and his children, with the possible assistance of a journeyman or two.

The lot of the peasant was made much harder than it need have been by the

PEASANT LIFE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Descriptions of brilliant court life in the France of Louis XIV tend to obscure the fact that the country was still primarily agricultural and that the mass of the people lived by tilling the soil as farmers, peasant-owners or tenants. This beautiful picture, painted by Louis le Nain in 1641, shows a peaceful scene in a farmyard in haymaking time. It is afternoon; the men are away in the fields, and a small boy entertains his companions by playing some simple tune on the flute.

*The Louvre; photo, Alinari*

two plagues of the seventeenth-century land-worker—taxes and periodical famines. The taxes were of many sorts. There were dues to the local lord—remnants of the feudal system, when he provided local police and justice in exchange for payment in money, in kind or in personal service. The king now administered justice and kept order, but the lord's dues remained—road tolls, bridge tolls, forced labor for repair of local highways, obligation to use the lord's mills on his own terms.

You were fortunate if the lord levied only what law or custom permitted; against some of the nobles the royal officials seemed helpless. As a general rule, it may be said, the Church was an easier landlord than the aristocracy.

After the local lord came the king. We have already spoken of the extraordinary system of taxation which, owing to innumerable exemptions, put the real burden on the peasantry. And the king must be paid: the defaulter was ruthlessly sold up and imprisoned. Nor was direct taxation the only trouble; a great part of the cost of the army fell on the wretched peasant, who had to billet the soldiers, for whom no barracks existed, and who largely lived on the countryside as in enemy country. In addition to forced billeting was the forced requisition of corn, straw and horses, forced labor for the army, forced recruiting.

From all this it will be seen that, however fruitful the land, it was scarcely possible for a peasant to pay all his dues

(including the by no means light Church tithes), meet all requisitions and have much left for himself. About 81 per cent of his revenue is estimated to have been paid out in one way or another. And what if the land were not fruitful? What if the crops failed? The amazing system, already alluded to, by which corn could not be moved freely from one province to the other meant that the need of one region could not be met by the surplus of another. One of the results was that the peasant, unable to export any superfluous corn, did not attempt to grow more than he personally needed or could sell in the district, with the inevitable consequence that there never were any reserves, and any shortage, however temporary, meant starvation. Add to this the primitive system of cultivation in vogue, and the fact that many parts of the country were not very fertile, and you get the second plague of the peasant's life, the danger of famine. The French countryside lived, in fact, on a perpetual margin of starvation.

If anything, the misery increased as time went on. The last years of the reign saw several particularly bad winters—in the Montauban diocese there were over 400 deaths every year from starvation; in Vézelay at least one-tenth of the population were beggars.

As might be expected, the natural result of such conditions was frequent revolts. There was scarcely a year without some rising—and these in all parts of the country. But risings were inevitably local; absence of easy communications made united effort impossible; further, town and countryside were never united, the merchants and professional classes invariably siding with the crown in the crushing of the peasantry, even if they, on their side, were soon after to protest against some fresh taxation.

Of course, the modern divorce between agricultural and industrial life was unknown to the seventeenth century. Largely unemployed during the winter, the peasant often became a weaver, while his wife spun or made lace; the days of the factory were not yet. Often the agricultural laborer endeavored to migrate, temporarily or permanently, to the town, in which he hoped to find a more assured sustenance than on the land. But he was scarcely any better off. Unable to enter any of the regular trades, he could only offer his services as an unskilled journeyman for a miserable wage. Add to this appalling housing conditions, and it will not be wondered at that the towns were not more settled than the countryside, and were full of beggars.

It was impossible, we said, for an outsider in search of work to enter one of the regular trades, whether industrial or commercial. Each calling formed a close corporation, to which admission was possible only by lengthy apprenticeship or by heredity. In addition to the innumerable regulations made by the corporation itself, each trade had to obey the army of laws and rules made by the government for the proper control of commerce. The commercial world was thus a world unto itself, closed to outsiders, jealous to a degree of its privileges and of those of the city which it virtually represented in its guild merchant.

Of professional people, in the modern sense, there were but few. Teaching was in the hands of the clergy, doctors were still closely connected with the more menial class of barbers, and, save for a few brilliant exceptions, were still singularly ignorant of their craft.

The enormous civil service was a class by itself; so was the corporation of the lawyers. The main feature of the lawyer class was its extraordinary independence. Judicial posts being inherited or bought, the king had virtually no power over any magistrate. This might have created a large body of free-minded men, able to dispense justice without fear or favor. But the very fact that their offices had been heavily paid for made judges short of money and notoriously open to bribes—the French judiciary of the seventeenth century was, with a few exceptions, a class of narrow-minded, traditional officials, more anxious about their privileges than about justice in general.

If we pass from the judges to their victims we find a heartrending picture of suffering and misery. Condemnation to the galleys was a sentence to slow death. Complaints are frequent of men detained in prison or on a galley long after they should have been released. Legal trials still contained torture as a normal method of cross-examination, which frequently led to innocents confessing to

crimes they had not committed in order to avoid further torments.

Another close corporation was the clergy, divided between a higher clergy, usually of aristocratic birth and amazingly worldly, and a miserably paid lower clergy, sprung from the people, often with excellent intentions, but also incredibly ignorant and narrow-minded. The testimony not only of satirical literature, but of contemporary sermons and other ecclesiastical sources, is too strong in its unanimity to leave one many illusions as to the general condition of the Church under Louis XIV.

The power of the clergy was financial. It alone had large wealth, of which it could to some extent dispose freely; it alone could give—or not give—to the crown.

We have already alluded to the position of the nobility in the government. Kept by Louis XIV out of any political or administrative responsibility, not allowed by tradition to engage in commerce, not even to develop their lands, because if they did it would become exempt from certain taxes, they were almost invariably idle and poor. Many a noble family was on the verge of bankruptcy; all saw in war their only possible occupation.

Debarred as they were from public life, they had no interest in any possible reforms; in spite of the excellent intentions of many, the class as a whole remained an economic parasite, living on dues wrung from its peasant-tenants, or on sinecures at court, or on royal pensions.

Of the morals of the age it is not necessary to speak at any length. Strict ethics were not the strong point of French civilization in any class of society; contemporary memoirs, the plays of the time (those of Molière especially), the large mass of satirical literature and the sermons of the band of great preachers who flourished at the time show that France was certainly no better in the seventeenth century—if perhaps no worse—than in most other periods in her history.

What is, however, worth noting is the extraordinary coarseness of an age that prided itself on its polite manners. What would be to us the most elementary decency was violated at every turn. Among the least repulsive characteristics of the period we may venture to mention a gluttony that appears to us incredible, and an absence of sanitary arrangements, which made even Versailles smell like a cesspool. In spite of all its pomp, it was a rough and comfortless age: houses were badly heated, badly lit and badly ventilated; epidemics were frequent, smallpox being particularly virulent; the veneer of refinement only thinly veiled

NOBLE AND SERF

Among the many exactions which oppressed the peasantry were the feudal dues still demanded by the nobles, who in other respects had lost their feudal character. This engraving shows a lord receiving a peasant's hard-earned offerings.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from Larousse, 'Histoire de France illustrée'*

the fact that the France of Louis had not left very far behind the barbarous habits of the Middle Ages.

Yet we must not forget the extraordinary literary greatness of the age—a greatness that would make the period stand out, even if it were utterly undistinguished in any other particular. The literary interest of the period, however, does not lie so much in the individual or collective greatness of the writers as in the manner in which the literature reflected to a very special degree the political and social tendencies of the time.

We do not mean by this any specific

reference to current events, much less any comment on them. In an absolutist age, when there is no freedom of the Press, no liberty of discussion, it is a dangerous thing to talk politics—it is safer to talk of other things. So seventeenth-century writers discuss Man in general rather than the Frenchmen of their own day; they confine themselves to what we may call the fundamentals of universal psychology, and go to Greece and Rome for their heroes.

But, it may be said, allusions to contemporary events need not be critical. Are there no references to the glorious wars, to the conquests? No indications of Frenchmen taking pride in national achievements? And the answer is that, except for "official" literature (odes by poets laureate and so forth), there are none; and the reason is that to most Frenchmen these were not national, but royal achievements. There can be no deep love of one's country, or pride in her doings, when there is no liberty, no responsibility, no direct share in policy. The utter indifference of the people to the wars and successes that were to them but the king's wars is to us an extraordinary feature of the period. In fact, we should correct a statement made above, and say that there are allusions to the wars, but only as an expression of deep war weariness in the later period of the reign. We should also remember that, far more than in our own day, this literature was that of a select few, the educated middle and upper class. The great mass of the people was quite illiterate. In no sense is all this literary output national; it is intensely sectional and at the same time universal in its utter detachment from contemporary issues and standpoints.

FRENCH ECCLESIASTIC

One of the three 'estates' was the ecclesiastical order, who, on official occasions, ranked immediately after princes of the blood. This engraving by Bonnart shows a cleric in his cassock.

*From Larousse, 'Histoire de France'*

Against the royal policy of absolutism and uniformity in every department of life there might have remained a last preserve of freedom, the sphere of the mind and soul; but it was here that this royal policy was made to prevail even more savagely than elsewhere.

Religious toleration was not a seventeenth-century virtue. In endeavoring to establish religious uniformity in his country, Louis XIV was but following the example of virtually every sovereign who had hitherto been strong enough to attempt such a policy. The tragedy of France was that all "nonconformity" was crushed. Movements within the Church, which might have enriched her life and widened her outlook, were crushed no less relentlessly than the Protestant movement outside it. It was not merely a matter of outward conformity sheltering a variety of standpoints; it meant the ruthless stamping out of every opinion—Jansenism and Quietism, for instance—that did not harmonize with that section within the Catholic Church which at that time chanced to predominate.

The Edict of Nantes had given the Protestants freedom to worship under certain conditions in all towns where Protestant communities existed at the time. Although thus limited in its scope, it had proved broad enough—generously interpreted, it is true—for Protestantism to develop and organize itself. In 1661 Protestants numbered about one and a half million (about one-fifteenth of the total population), mainly concentrated in a few definite areas (Normandy, Paris, the south-east and south-west).

Richelieu and Mazarin, had both main-

tained the freedom guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes; but from the very moment of his accession to power Louis XIV decided otherwise.

The first step was the forbidding of the meeting of the Annual Synod, as not authorized by the Edict in 1598. Then came the compulsion for Protestant funerals to take place by night, because the Edict did not expressly allow funerals by day. Still observing strictly the letter of the Edict, churches not in existence in 1598 were pulled down one after another; children were removed from their parents' care to be educated as Catholics. Further measures closed to Protestants all liberal professions, all official posts, all trade guilds—this, however, in violation of the Edict—limited the number of those allowed to attend even authorized meetings, closed their schools, prevented their ministers from remaining in any one place more than a limited time, prohibited all books that seemed to attack the Church.

In 1677 a special fund was opened for subsidizing conversions; in 1681 actual persecution began by the billeting of dragoons in Protestant households, with freedom to act as "booted missionaries" to their heart's content.

On October 22, 1685, Louis XIV formally revoked the Edict. All Protestant churches were to be pulled down; no Protestant worship allowed; all ministers were to leave the kingdom within fourteen days under pain of death, but no other Protestants were to attempt to leave the country under pain of prison for women and the galleys for men.

Whether or not Louis really thought there were virtually no Protestants left, he was soon undeceived, and the results of the Revocation were very different from anything he seemed to have anticipated. Many Catholic "converts" returned to the Huguenot faith; the laity left the country by thousands, while the clergy refused to leave. Their flocks' worship was carried on in secret conventicles.

About 500,000 Protestants became Catholics, another half-million remained in the country, and a third half-million emigrated, mainly to England, Prussia, Switzerland and Holland, thus providing the enemies of France with skilled artisans and keen soldiers.

And what of the spiritual consequences —not merely of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but of the whole of Louis XIV's religious policy? The fundamental consequence of the Revocation was that the Church was left with an apparent absolute monopoly of religious truth. The religious life of the country was in her sole keeping: Christianity was the Church, and (as we saw) the Church was the State.

It followed that any attack on the teaching of the Church on any point, religious or political, could not but be an attack on Christianity. The revolt of eighteenth-century philosophy against ecclesiastical intolerance or dogmatic rigidity became a revolt against all religion, since it knew no religion but that of the Church. The complaint of the oppressed against the political and social tyranny of a system upheld and blessed by the Church turned inevitably into a bitter cry that Christianity stood in the way of social reform and political progress; and there grew up in France what Belloc calls "that by-product of Catholicism," anti-clericalism, the identification of political freedom with the denial of religion, and particularly of Christianity.

"Now at last we come to the solid achievements of Louis XIV," the reader may exclaim at this point; "no one can deny that the reign was one of military glory and territorial expansion."

Of course, it is true that Louis had, indeed, something to show for the almost continuous fighting of that half-century, but Louis got but little of what he set out to obtain, and of what he could easily have obtained had he really been prepared to concentrate upon the task; while the price he had to pay for the little he did get was absolutely out of proportion to the value of his gains. Misuse of opportunites, ignoring of vital issues, frittering of resources on unessentials, and on showy undertakings that proved valueless—such is the summary of the foreign policy of the reign.

Had Louis XIV used his forces wisely and efficiently there is little doubt he could have succeeded both in conquering and in keeping the Spanish Netherlands and the Rhineland. Thus annexed before they had really developed a strong national feeling of their own, the inhabitants of those provinces would probably have be-

come welded into the French nation as quickly and easily as those of Alsace or of Franche-Comté. But all this was lost by the silly pride, the vanity and the military inefficiency of the monarch in whom some would make us see a great conqueror.

Over a century later, in 1790, Rhinelanders and Belgians welcomed the French revolutionary armies as their deliverers from tyranny. A common belief in political freedom would have then easily turned them into zealous Frenchmen, and they did, indeed, become for a time citizens of the French Republic. When, in 1799, General Bonaparte was called to rule France, the Rhenish and Flemish provinces formed part of the land entrusted to his care. But, intoxicated with conquest and unable to refrain from war, Napoleon I could not keep what he had received, and left France smaller in 1815 than she was in 1799. The opportunity was never to return; the Netherlands became the Belgian nation, and the Rhinelanders were soon welded into the new German people. The Rhine frontier was thus lost by the lust for military glory of the two monarchs who are commonly supposed to have been the greatest military rulers of France.

"Not only were great things done during his reign, but himself did he do them," says Voltaire of Louis XIV, and the judgment holds good, provided that in the term "great" we include greatness of failure as well as of achievement. For the good and ill of his reign Louis XIV must be given a responsibility which he was certainly enough of a king not to try to shirk.

No considerations of internal unity and order, no alleged national interests, no appeal for reasons of state, can stand for one moment against what we cannot but call the great crimes of the reign: the waging of wars for sheer lust of conquest, the persecution of Protestant and Catholic dissenters, the oppression of the poor, the crushing of liberty. And if this condemnation of the royal policy on moral grounds seems prejudiced or overstated, one must remind the objector that it had not even the relative defense of success.

The France of 1715 was, without question, less powerful externally, less prosperous economically, less united socially or religiously than the France of 1661. The royal authority even, which was for Louis XIV the real test of national greatness, was far weaker at the end than at the beginning of the reign. In his old age Louis XIV may still be obeyed as a matter of habit; he is no longer obeyed through respect of authority; tyranny has destroyed any true spirit of obedience, and never again will any king of France be really obeyed, if we except the Bonaparte emperors. Therein lies the condemnation of kingship as he saw it.

The historian who analyses the ultimate causes of the French Revolution will find all its roots, political, social, economic, religious and philosophical, in the France of Louis XIV. This is the fundamental, unanswerable fact to be opposed to all references to the pomp of Versailles, the show of authority, the glamor of great victories, and even the work of Colbert and the magnificence of French classical art and letters.

# TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXVII

A.D.

1713 Treaty of Utrecht ends War of Spanish Succession. Duke of Savoy becomes k. of Sicily. Bourbon dynasty established in Spain.
Prussia: Frederick I d.; acc. Frederick William I.

1714 Philip V of Spain m. Elizabeth Farnese. Alberoni becomes first minister.
Treaty of Rastadt complementing Utrecht.
Turco-Venetian War.
Charles XII quits Turkey, reaches Stralsund.
Queen Anne d.; acc. George I of Hanover.

1715 Northern League against Sweden.
Jacobite rising (the "Fifteen"); Sheriffmuir.
Louis XIV d.; acc. Louis XV (his great-grandson). Philip of Orleans becomes regent and heir-presumptive, Philip V having abjured the succession. Rapprochement between French and British governments to maintain the Hanoverian and Orleanist successions.

1716 Charles XII attacks Norway.
Eugène's victory over Turks at Peterwardein.
Leibniz d.

1717 Eugène's decisive victory of Belgrade.
Triple alliance of Great Britain, France and Holland. Spanish forces occupy Sardinia, where they are welcomed.

1718 Charles XII killed at Fredrikshald.
Peter the Great puts his son Alexis to death.
Treaty of Passarowitz marks end of Turkish aggression westwards.
Spaniards occupy Sicily, but their new fleet is destroyed at Cape Passaro.

1719 Collapse of Alberoni's projects; his fall.
Sweden: Acc. Ulrica Eleanor and Frederick of Hesse. Oligarchial rule established.

1720 Austria exchanges Sardinia for Sicily, the house of Savoy becoming kings of Sardinia with Savoy and Piedmont.
"Northern War" concluded by treaty of Stockholm.
Charles VI issues Pragmatic Sanction to secure Austrian succession to his daughter.

1721 Walpole's ministry begins in England.
Sweden concludes treaty of Nystadt ceding Baltic provinces to Russia.

1722 Peter the Great attacks Persia through Caucasus.

1723 Louis XV comes of age; end of Orléans regency.

1724 Immanuel Kant b.

1725 Louis XV m. Maria Lecszinska; causing a breach with Spain.
Treaty of Vienna between Spain and Austria. Opposition league of Hanover between Great Britain and France joined by Prussia and minor powers. Spain guarantees Pragmatic Sanction.
Peter the Great d.; acc. Catherine I.

1726 Fleury becomes Louis' minister.

1727 George I d.; acc. George II. Walpole retains power.
Catherine I d.; acc. Peter II.
Isaac Newton d.

1729 French dauphin d., excluding probability of a disputed succession in France.
Treaty of Seville between France, Spain and Great Britain.
Lessing b.
John Wesley starts Methodist Society at Oxford.

1730 Russia: Peter II d.; acc. Anne (Ivanovna) of Courland who recovers supremacy of the crown.

1731 Carlos (younger son of Philip V) established in duchy of Parma.

1733-38 War of the Polish Succession.

1733 Secret (Bourbon) family compact between France and Spain against Austria and England.

A.D.

Augustus of Poland and Saxony d.; Stanislaus Lecszinski, supported by France and Spain, is again elected but expelled in favor of Augustus III maintained by Russia and Austria. War of Polish Succession begins.
America: Settlement of Georgia by James Oglethorpe.

1734 Carlos of Parma captures Naples.

1735 Carlos retains Naples and Sicily but has to surrender Parma. Augustus retains Poland; Stanislaus is given Lorraine with reversion to France, and Francis of Lorraine gets Tuscany and the hand of Charles VI's dr. Maria Teresa; but hostilities drag on.

1736 War between Russia and Turkey.

1737 Austria joins Russia in Turkish war.

1738 Polish Succession War ends with treaty of Vienna, confirming the arrangements of 1735. France guarantees Pragmatic Sanction.

1739 Nadir Shah the Persian sacks Delhi but retires, having ended the Mogul's effective authority, which survives in legal theory.
War (of Jenkins' Ear) between England and Spain. Austria deserts Russia by separate treaty of Belgrade with Turkey; Russia is compelled to accept the Turkish terms.

1740-48 War of the Austrian Succession.

1740 Anne of Russia d.; acc. Ivan VI (a child).
Charles VI d.; acc. Maria Teresa, principal counter-claimant being Charles Albert of Bavaria.
Frederick William I d.; acc. Frederick II.
Frederick marches into Silesia and demands its cession as the price of his support of the claims of Maria Teresa. She refuses. The "Silesian War" begins the war of the Austrian Succession.
India: Dupleix at Pondicherry plans the ejection of the British.

1741 Ivan VI deposed; Elizabeth tsaritsa.
Frederick wins battle of Mollwitz, establishing reputation of Prussian army.
The war becomes general, France and Spain siding with Bavaria, England with Maria Teresa, as "auxiliaries."
Maria Teresa appeals to Hungarians, who respond with enthusiasm. Frederick makes agreement of Klein-Schnellendorf and withdraws (Oct.), but re-enters in Dec. French take Prague.

1742 Charles Albert of Bavaria emperor as Charles VII; the only breach in the Hapsburg continuity after Frederick III.
Austrians overrun Bavaria; Frederick's Moravian campaign fails but he defeats Austrians at Chotusitz, obtains treaty of Breslau, and again retires. Austrians recover Prague.
Expedition of Oglethorpe to Florida; siege of St. Augustine.

1743 British squadron imposes neutrality on Carlos at Naples. Battle of Dettingen. Alliances revised by treaties of Worms and Fontainebleau and the auxiliaries become principals.

1744 Frederick re-enters the war.

1745-6 The "Forty-Five."

1745 Charles VII d.; acc. (Bavaria) Max Joseph, (Empire) Francis I of Tuscany. Prussia and Bavaria both retire permanently from the war. French successes (Fontenoy).
Jacobite rising; Prince Charles Edward lands at Moidart, captures Edinburgh, marches to Derby, and then retreats.
Siege and capture of Louisburg, Nova Scotia, by English colonial troops.

1746 Jacobitism finally crushed at Culloden (April).

A.D.

Philip V d.; acc. Ferdinand VI. Spain retires.
India: La Bourdonnais captures Madras.
1747 Orange stadtholdership restored in Holland.
1748 War ended by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; Prussia retains Silesia.
1749 Goethe b.
1750 Rise of Kaunitz, who plans "Diplomatic Revolution."
India: renewal of Anglo-French hostilities, on pretext of supporting rival claimants to native thrones. French gains.
1751 Capture and defense of Arcot by Clive.
1753 Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia sends George Washington to order the French out of Ohio.
1754 Dupleix recalled; hostilities suspended.
America: Conference of colonial delegates is held with Six Nations of Iroquois Indians.
1755 Hostilities in America; Braddock's disaster. Attack on Crown Point. Battle of Lake George and capture of Ticonderoga. Great earthquake at Lisbon.
1756-63 Seven Years' War.
1756 Anglo-Prussia Treaty of Westminster.
Kaunitz completes circle of alliances for the crushing of Prussia, including France, Russia and Saxony.
India: Tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta.
French squadron captures Minorca; first action of the Seven Years' War.
Frederick invades Saxony; takes Dresden.
1756 Montcalm captures Oswego.
1757 Montcalm captures Fort William Henry.
Frederick invades Bohemia; wins battle of Prague but is defeated at Kolin.
William Pitt the elder heads British ministry.
India: Clive overthrows nawab of Bengal at Plassey and becomes master of Bengal.
Command in western Germany given to Ferdinand of Brunswick.
Frederick defeats French at Rossbach and Austrians at Leuthen.
1758 Capture of Louisburg by Amherst and Wolfe; Bradstreet takes Fort Frontenac; capture of Fort Duquesne by Forbes.
1758 Ministry of Choiseul in France.
Development of British naval attacks on French ports.

A.D.

Frederick defeats Russians at Zorndorf, and effectually checks Austian advance in spite of a reverse at Hochkirch.
India: Lally commands French in the south, and takes Fort St. David but fails at Madras.
1759 Frederick defeated by Russians at Künersdorf; French defeated and driven behind Rhine at Minden by Ferdinand; French Toulon fleet broken up by Boscawen off Lagos (August).
Wolfe takes Quebec (Sept.).
Hawke shatters French fleet at Quiberon Bay; Prussian force capitulates at Maxen (Nov.).
Ferdinand VI d.; Carlos of Naples acc. as Carlos III. His younger son Ferdinand succeeds at Naples.
Pombal suppresses Jesuits in Portugal and sets about vigorous reforms.
James Watt begins experiments in steam power.
Robert Burns b.
1760 India: Decisive defeat of Lally by Eyre Coote at Wandewash.
Frederick checks Austrians at Liegnitz and Torgau (last pitched battle).
George II d.; acc. George III.
1761 Pitt resigns; Frederick's subsidies withdrawn.
Ahmad Shah from Afghanistan invades Upper India and shatters Maratha armies at Panipat.
British take Pondicherry.
Second Bourbon Family Compact.
1761 Trouble over Writs of Assistance in Massachusetts.
1762 War declared between Great Britain and Spain.
Tsaritsa Elizabeth d.; acc. Peter III who reverses her policy and allies with Frederick, but is deposed and put to death by his wife Catherine II, who assumes neutrality. Frederick holds his own against Austria.
Publication of Rousseau's Contrat Social.
1763 Seven Years' War ended by Treaties of Paris between Great Britain, France and Spain, and Hubertusburg between Austria and Prussia. France cedes Canada and is excluded from rivalry in India; Frederick retains Silesia.
Polish crown vacated by death of Augustus III.

# Chronicle XXVII

# DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT POWERS: 1713—1763

In spite of Jacobite intrigues, George of Hanover succeeded to the British throne a year after Utrecht. Next year (1715) a Jacobite rising was suppressed without difficulty. For thirty years more, any foreign power hostile to Britain could provide her with a menace of civil war by fostering Jacobite intrigues—a menace which did not finally disappear till the desperate attempt of Prince Charles in 1745 had been crushed at Culloden. But the material prosperity of the country counted for more than the sentiment of loyalty to the exiled dynasty, and Jacobitism, till its final suppression, was a source of constant uneasiness rather than of actual danger.

Louis XIV died in 1715; Phillip of Orléans, the heir presumptive of the child Louis XV, became regent. His dynastic interests and the dynastic interests of George I in England bound the two governments close together, while in each country there was a legitimist party zealous in the one for recognition of Philip V of Spain's title to the succession, in the other for a Stuart restoration.

Meanwhile, Philip V had taken for his second wife Elizabeth Farnese, an ambitious lady who was determined that in course of time her husband should be king of France, and that her own children, whose chance of succession to the Spanish crown was remote, should succeed to the duchies of Parma and Tuscany—and of course that the Sicilies should come back to Spain. At the moment, it must be remembered, Naples and Sardinia had gone to the emperor while the duke of Savoy had become king of Sicily. Incidentally, the marriage raised the Italian (cardinal) Alberoni to the position of chief minister and actual director in Spain.

Simultaneously the Turks were embarking on their last attempt to reverse the decisions which had been reached by the treaty of Carlowitz. In 1714 they picked a quarrel with Venice and promptly reconquered the Morea. Venice appealed to her old ally Austria to maintain the treaty; Austria answered the appeal; war was declared, and Eugène took command of the Austrian armies.

In 1716 a great Turkish force was besieging Peterwardein in Hungary. On August 5 that army was shattered by Eugène, who then besieged and captured the only fortress remaining to them in Hungary, Temesvar. In the next spring Eugène laid siege to Belgrade, and on August 16, 1717, shattered the Turkish army advancing to its relief, Belgrade surrendering on the next day. In 1718 the treaty of Passarowitz confirmed Austria in her possession of Temesvar and Belgrade. It did not restore the Morea to Venice, but it cleared the Ottoman permanently out of Hungary. And it again set Austria free to safeguard her interests against Western aggressors.

Those aggressors had been active; for Spanish ambitions required in every direction the reversal of the Utrecht settlements, and the foresight which was not lacking in Alberoni's schemes was traversed by the impatient temper of the king and queen. He was forced to open his attack before he was ready, by invading Sardinia in 1717. As the population preferred the old Spanish to the new Austrian connection, the conquest of the island was completed in a few weeks. Austria, engaged in her settlement with the Turks, appealed to the "Triple Alliance" which had been formed by Great Britain, France and Holland, to maintain the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Triple Alliance proposed terms to the emperor, who accepted them, and the Triple became the Quadruple Alliance. But meanwhile Alberoni's energy had recreated a large though untrained fleet which sailed for Palermo, and landed a large Spanish force, to which the Sicilians submitted as readily as the Sardinians. An English squadron was dispatched to the Mediterranean to watch the fleet. There had been no declaration of war, but the English admiral, Byng, found an excuse for engaging the Spanish

## FORTUNES OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS IN THE CENTURY PRECEDING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In the period under review in this chapter France gradually receded from her predominant position in Europe, and Russia and Prussia emerged as first-class powers. Austria was occupied in resisting disintegration after the death of Charles VI. The Ottoman power was cleared out of Hungary. Sweden ceased to count as a serious factor after the death of Charles XII. The sea power of Spain was destroyed, and Poland suffered the first of her partitions. Meantime, the sea power and wealth of Great Britain were increasing steadily.

fleet, and wiped it out off Cape Passaro, practically without loss. Alberoni had been intriguing on every side—for a French rebellion, a Jacobite rebellion and Swedish coöperation under Charles XII. All the schemes broke down. Charles was killed at Frederikshald, French troops entered Spain, and Austrian troops entered Sicily.

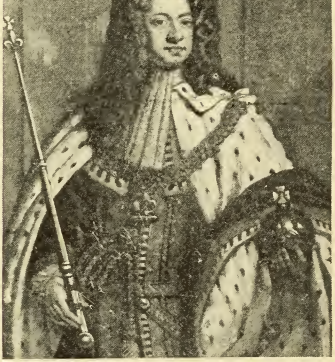
At the beginning of 1720 Philip made his peace with the allies, having dismissed Alberoni two months before. He accepted the terms on which the Quadruple Alliance had agreed. By the new treaty, Victor Amadeus of Savoy became king of Sardinia instead of Sicily, which went to Austria in exchange; the emperor Charles renounced all claims on the dominions which Utrecht had allotted to Philip, and the reversion of Parma and Tuscanny was secured to Carlos, the eldest son of Philip's second marriage. Superficially the European harmony was restored.

In the following year began the twenty years' ascendancy in England of a minister, Walpole, whose aim was to develop the material wealth of Great Britian to the utmost extent possible, and, with that end in view, to keep her at peace with the rest of the world at all costs.

### Oglethorpe in Georgia

In the eighteenth century the English laws allowed a man to be imprisoned for a debt as small as a shilling. Once in prison the unfortunate man had to stay until the debt was paid. General James Oglethorpe, a kind-hearted Englishman, organized a company of charitable persons to aid these unfortunate debtors; money was raised and the debts of some prisoners were paid. In 1733 the company took a number of the released men to America and settled them on a grant of land south of South Carolina. The new colony was named Georgia in honor of George II, who had given the land to Oglethorpe. The English Parliament appropriated ten thousand pounds to help along the enterprise, believing that the establishment of Georgia would strengthen English claims to land which the Spainards declared was part of Florida, and that Georgia would protect South Carolina from Spanish aggression. The trustees of the company were given the right to rule the colony for twenty-one years, and at the end of that period the king was to decide on the form of government. Land was purchased from the Indians and every colonist was allowed to rent fifty acres if he agreed to clear part of it and to plant one hundred mulberry trees to every ten acres cleared.

The trustees at their own expense brought over promising colonists from other countries also, and by 1741 some twelve hundred German Protestants were living in Georgia. The colonists were successful in producing silk, but in the



**KING GEORGE I OF ENGLAND**

George of Hanover (1660-1727), son of the electress Sophia, succeeded Queen Anne in 1714 by virtue of the Act of Settlement of 1701. This portrait of him as king of Great Britain was painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

*Guildhall, London*

course of time, as it became evident that more money could be made from raising rice and indigo, silk culture decreased.

At the end of the twenty-one years the English Government took over the colony and Georgia became a royal province. The colonists had grown discontented under the rule of the trustees, who had forbidden negro slavery and who restricted them in other ways.

The regency of Orléans ended in 1723 with the official coming of age of Louis XV, who in 1725 married Maria Lecszinska, daughter of the ex-king of Poland.

In 1726 Louis' old tutor Cardinal Fleury became first minister; but it was not till a son was born to the king in 1729 that the prospect of a possible Spanish claim to the French succession disappeared from the complications of international politics, and a secret rapprochement between the two Bourbon monarchies took its place.

Yet there were two other dynastic complications already threatening. When the emperor Joseph of Austria had died in 1711, he had been succeeded, having no sons, by his brother, Charles VI; but he left two daughters. By 1720 Charles also had two daughters; the chance that he would ever have a son was remote; and in that year he issued a decree known as the Pragmatic Sanction, declaring that the Austrian succession lay in his own daughters and only after them in the daughters of his elder brother.

ENGLAND'S FIRST "PRIME MINISTER"

Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745) was head of the government from 1721-42, being generally regarded as the first "prime minister." This picture of him while premier conversing with Speaker Onslow in the House of Commons was painted by William Hogarth and Sir James Thornhill.

*Engraved by A. Fogg*

Whatever renunciations might be formally made, it was certain that the husbands of the latter—they married respectively Charles Albert of Bavaria and Augustus the younger of Saxony—would denounce and resist the Pragmatic Sanction; and it became the ruling desire of Charles VI to have his decree guaranteed by all available powers against such opposition. Consequently the guaranteeing of the Pragmatic Sanction figured in all diplomatic bargaining between Charles and other European governments.

Fleury, who was already past seventy when he became his former pupil's first minister, shared Walpole's desire to keep the peace, and the two worked harmoniously as pacificators. But Fleury was embarrassed, as Walpole was not, by European ambitions, as a result of which he found himself forced into wars, while Walpole was strong enough to prevent George II (who succeeded his father in 1727) from plunging into the fray.

**War of the Polish Succession**

The European conflagration from which Walpole succeeded in holding aloof is known as the War of the Polish Succession which became a war for the expulsion of the Hapsburgs from Italy.

That object was not achieved. The war was extraordinarily devoid of interest, and was carried on without energy or skill on either side. Diplomacy took the place of fighting, and when peace terms were arranged in 1735 Italy was very thoroughly redistributed, but Austria was very far from being ejected. Lombardy was restored to her. But France had made one invaluable acquisition: Lorraine, long coveted, was to

go to her on the death of Stanislaus of Poland, whose daughter was the queen of France. Walpole and Frederick William I had successfully kept Britain, Hanover and Prussia out of the embroilment which had been bleeding all their neighbors in men and money.

### Consequences of the Pragmatic Sanction

THE war was practically ended in 1735, though the peace terms were not fully ratified till four years later. In the course of the negotiations Charles had collected various additional paper guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction, but had very completely alienated Prussia by the consistent duplicity of his dealings with her extremely narrow-minded, dull-witted and honest monarch Frederick William I. In 1739 the endless quarrel between the Spanish government and the British people over trading rights and wrongs in the South Seas reached such a pitch of blind hostility that Walpole, very much against his will, was forced by the popular excitement to declare war on Spain, with every prospect that France would join forces with the Spanish Bourbon.

EMPEROR CHARLES VI

Charles VI (1685-1740) is chiefly remembered as the author of the Pragmatic Sanction—a decree (1720) securing the Austrian succession for his daughter that proved a fertile cause of European dissension. The portrait above is by Auerbach.

*National Gallery, Vienna; photo, Kunstverlag Wolfrum*

CARDINAL DE FLEURY

André Hercule de Fleury (1653-1743) became chief minister to Louis XV in 1726. His administration was economical, but his pacifist foreign policy was over-ruled and he died a disappointed man. This portrait is by Hyacinthe Rigaud.

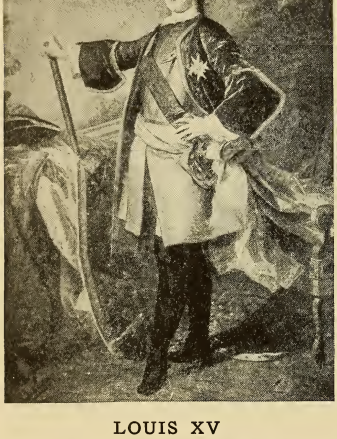
*From Seidlitz, "Porträtwerk," Brückmann A.G.*

In 1740 the tsaritsa Anne died and it was not till some years had passed that Russia had a government which could play an active part in western politics. Frederick William died and was succeeded by his son Frederick, who was as unscrupulous as his father had been honest, and as astute as his father had been stupid. Charles VI died, and under the Pragmatic Sanction his daughter Maria Teresa, not long married to Francis of Tuscany, succeeded to the Austrian inheritance.

### Decline of the Swedish Power

IN 1713 Frederick William I succeeded his father Frederick I as the second king of Prussia. In that year Charles XII of Sweden was still a very unwelcome guest in Turkey, engaged in fruitless efforts to persuade the sultan to renew the war with Russia which had been brought to an end by the treaty of

Pruth in 1711. In 1714 he suddenly resolved to return to Sweden, now all but stripped of her trans-Baltic possessions, raced with one companion across Europe to Stralsund, which was being besieged, threw himself into the town, and carried on the struggle with desperate energy. But Sweden, single-handed against en-



**LOUIS XV**

Problems of paramount international importance were involved in the selection of a consort for Louis XV, whose health in boyhood was precarious. Plans for his marriage to the little infanta Maria of Spain had been maturing for some time, but in 1725 the duke of Bourbon opened negotiations with other European courts and the choice finally fell upon Maria Lecszinska, daughter of Stanislaus Lecszinski, ex-king of Poland, and the nuptials were solemnized at Fontainebleau, September 4, 1725.

*Portrait by Jean-Baptiste Vanloo (Musée de Versailles; photo Neurdein)*

circling foes, had no real chance. Charles had to evacuate Stralsund. His minister, Gortz, however, struck a bargain with Peter, and Charles was already invading Norway when he was slain, probably by the bullet from the gun of a traitor, before Fredrikshald in 1718. With the death of Charles XII Sweden ceased to be a serious factor in European politics.

### Achievements of Peter the Great

The figure of Peter the Great is an extraordinary one. Physically and intellectually the man was a giant, a personality of overwhelming forcefulness: an outer barbarian dwelling among barbarians on the outskirts of an extremely sophisticated civilization, yet of a genius that could realize the effective superiority which civilization gave to the nations of the West. He never became civilized himself, but he was entirely resolved that his people should be compelled to discard their own traditions and imitate that civilization so far as he understood it, utterly alien though it was. What he imposed upon them was not assimilation but imitation; and he effected his purpose. He revolutionized the Russian social and political system on Western lines; but he did it without transforming the Russian into a Western.

Peter was sufficiently thorough-going in his work of political and social reconstruction. After he had extended his dominion to the Baltic (where he planted his new imperial capital on the Neva) he spent the remainder of his reign, which ended with his death in 1725, in extending his dominion eastward by wars with Persia.

What Peter had wrought mainly through the force of his own personality was not destroyed by his death; but it was gravely imperiled by the character of his successors and the difficulties they had to face.

The order of succession was: Catherine I, widow of Peter the Great, 1725; Peter II, his grandson, 1727; Anne of Courland, 1730; Ivan VI, 1740; Elizabeth, Peter's own daughter, 1741; Peter III, his grandson, 1762. Peter III married a German princess, Catherine of Anhalt, who promptly superseded him, and reigned as the great tsaritsa Catherine II, from 1762 to 1796.

### Organization of the Prussian Army

Frederick William of Prussia was not a man of genius like Peter the Great; but he was a man of one idea, which he pursued with such concentration that he made Prussia into a first-class power. That one idea was the organization of an invincible military machine. He created it, but he had no use for it; it was an end in itself.

It did not save him from being duped, as his father had been duped before him, by Austrian craft. Charles got promises out of him—the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction for one—knowing that he would keep them, by himself making promises which he neither kept nor intended to keep; but, unfortunately for Austria, Frederick William's son was entirely free from those conscientious scruples on which Charles reckoned in his dealings with the father. His chance came when in 1740 he succeeded his father in Prussia and Maria Teresa at the end of the year made her claim to the succession to her father in Austria.

### European Rivalries in East and West

It was not only in Europe, however, that the coming collision was to take effect. In fact, the first actual outbreak of hostilities was occasioned by the failure of the treaty of Utrecht to satisfy British trading demands in Spanish America. Moreover, British and French commercial rivalry in India had reached a pitch that set the East India Companies fighting as soon as open war was declared between the two nations in the west; and the British and French colonial expansions in North America had so converged that neither could make further advance save at the expense of the other's claims.

Of these three causes of quarrel, the first had begun when English mariners enforced at the sword's point what they claimed as their "right" to trade with the Spanish colonies in defiance of the Spanish government. Some trading concessions had been secured by the treaty of Utrecht which from the English point

**JENKINS' EAR: A POPULAR SATIRE ON PACIFISM IN HIGH PLACES**

Walpole's and Fleury's pacifist policy is satirized in this contemporary caricature. Walpole "in place" is waving aside Captain Robert Jenkins, who, in proof of the Spanish ill treatment of British mariners, produces the ear severed from his head by a Spanish naval officer in 1731. A servant ejects another merchant complainant, and in front of the table Fleury's emissary offers French mediation. This incident of Jenkins' ear was a contributory cause of the Anglo-Spanish war in 1739.

**KING GEORGE II**

George II (1683-1760) became king of Great Britain and Ireland in 1727. His sympathies were strongly German, but he had the sense to recognize the power of the popular will and acted consistently as a constitutional sovereign.

*Painting by R. E. Pine*

of view proved very inadequate; English ships evaded the treaty regulations, and Spanish officials exercised their powers with intolerable arrogance and severity. Both sides lost their tempers, and both countries went wild with joy when their governments yielded to popular clamor and declared war in 1739.

### Status of Europeans in India

THE Indian position was the outcome of the disintegration of the Mogul Empire. When Aurangzib died in 1705, the vast dominion theoretically recognized the supremacy of the Mogul; practically the governors of its great provinces were already independent princes. The Europeans in India were merely a few traders established in some half dozen "factories" on the coast by grace of the native rulers, with some scores of soldiers who might perhaps have seen some service in European wars. Among the Indian powers, they had neither political nor military status; they were upon Indian soil merely on sufferance.

No French and no British government dreamed of conquest, though local "governors" had dreamed of acquiring influence at native courts that would further the interests of their companies. This was the dream that was brought nearer by the disruption of the empire and the feebleness of the central authority; and what remained of that central authority received a shattering blow in 1739 when the Persian Nadir Shah swept through the northwestern passes upon Delhi and put the capital once more to the sack. At that disastrous moment in the history of the Moguls, the governorship of the French Company at Pondicherry passed into the hands of François Dupleix, of whose imperialist visions the British were destined to reap the fruits.

Finally, in North America the French colony on the St. Lawrence had extended past the Great Lakes blocking the westward expansion of the northern British colonies; away in the south on the Mexican Gulf they had planted the colony of New Orleans; they had traced the course of the Mississippi, claimed the whole of its basin for their own, and were now claiming the basin of its great tributary the Ohio. If that claim were admitted, the British would be shut in for ever between the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Atlantic. Canada was under a single government; the British colonies between the St. Lawrence and Florida, now thirteen in number, were very much the more populous, but they were under thirteen separate governments without any common authority or machinery for joint or military organization.

England, it may be remarked, had at this time sunk, under Walpole's extremely materialistic regime, to an abnormally low state of spiritual and moral lethargy. This year, 1739, was curiously also the birth-year of a movement which revived

in the masses that sense of things spiritual which seemed moribund; for in it the brothers John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield may be said to have opened the first campaign in that evangelizing mission of Methodism which infused new and stronger life into religion generally.

### War of the Austrian Succession Begins

In 1740 British and Spanish were fighting each other, with no great credit to either, in the West Indies; both in full expectation that it would not be long before France intervened on the side of Spain. Before Charles VI died he had procured guarantees of his Pragmatic Sanction for the disposition of the Austrian inheritance from everyone except Spain, Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia and Charles Albert of Bavaria, the husband of Charles's niece, Maria Amelia, his elder brother's daughter. He had failed to procure any guarantee of the imperial succession for his daughter's husband Francis of Tuscany (formerly of Lorraine).

On his death Maria Teresa was proclaimed his heiress and queen of Hungary and Bohemia; Charles Albert claimed the whole inheritance; Spain and Sardinia were eager to assert claims in Italy. But they were not strong enough to make those claims good on their own account in the face of the guaranteeing powers. An appeal to arms appeared, on the whole, improbable.

But the young king of Prussia had no qualms and no scruples. He marched his hitherto untried army into Silesia, announced his own claim to that and other provinces, and declared his readiness to support Maria Teresa in all her other claims if those provinces were ceded to him. The young queen repudiated the insolent offer with indignation; an Austrian army marched to suppress the upstart; and the upstart's troops shattered it at the battle of Mollwitz (April, 1741).

The aged Fleury was still at the head of the French government, but he was unable to make head against the ambitious Belle-Isle. The opportunity had arisen for dismembering the Austrian dominion and dividing Germany into independent principalities, in accordance with the old Roman system of 'Divide and rule,' none of which could make head against France.

### Results of Belle-Isle's Diplomacy

Frederick, indeed, had no mind to be turned into a tool for carrying out Belle-Isle's plans: the cession of Silesia would have set him firmly on the side of Maria Teresa; but her resolute refusal drove him to accept the French terms—with mental reservations. Charles Albert was to receive the bulk of the inheritance and was to be emperor; Frederick was to surrender part of his claims to Augustus of Saxony and the elector palatine, and Sardinia and Spain were to share the spoils in Italy. France was to keep whatever she could take in the Netherlands. The compact being arranged, France entered the war not as a principal but as an "auxiliary" of Bavaria. Great Britain and Hanover did likewise, as auxiliaries of Maria Teresa.

Maria Teresa's prospects were black enough, but she faced the circle of foes with undaunted courage and her bold appeal to her down-trodden Hungarian subjects was answered with an enthusiasm wholly unexpected. Also she yielded to her advisers and made offers to Frederick to detach him from his allies.

### Charles VII Elected Emperor

Frederick was obviously playing a double game; but the French were only roused to greater activity. Prague was captured, and at the imperial election in January, 1742, the elector of Bavaria became the emperor Charles VII. But Maria Teresa's courage and energy were unshaken. Troops were hurried together from every quarter, and Passau, which had been occupied by the Bavarians, was recaptured on the day of Charles's election.

Frederick attacked Moravia, but in three months he had made up his mind that the game was not worth the candle; there was no love lost between him and the allies, who distrusted him utterly. The war party in England was at this moment greatly strengthened by the retirement of Walpole; but even his successor Carteret insisted that terms must be made with Frederick as the price of British activity; Hanover could not afford to lay herself open to his attack. The terms proposed did not satisfy him, and he proceeded to rout an Austrian army at Czaslau, reckoning that this would

bring Austria to reason. By midsummer he had got his terms practically accepted. In return for the cession of the greater part of Silesia in full sovereignty, he retired from the war. The treaty of Breslau was signed in June, 1742, and in September Saxony followed Frederick's example and assumed neutrality.

MARIA TERESA OF AUSTRIA

The empress Maria Teresa (1717-1780) was about twenty-three years of age when Martin Meytens painted this portrait of her. It represents her as queen of Hungary with one hand resting upon the crown of S. Stephen.
*Photo, Reiffenstein, Vienna*

France, thus deserted, made overtures for peace, but Maria Teresa, now full of the hope of obtaining in other directions compensation for the territories she had ceded, refused the proffered terms.

### Treaties of Worms and Fontainebleau

THE war dragged on, with varying fortunes which it would be superfluous to follow in detail, till a new treaty—"of Worms"—between Maria Teresa's supporters revived the never very quiescent fears of Frederick that if the allies were too successful his own acquisitions would be threatened.

Before the summer of 1744 was over Frederick cast off his neutrality and invaded Bohemia. The French concentrated their efforts upon the Netherlands, where they gave the command of their armies to Maurice of Saxony—commonly referred to as Marshal Saxe.

Then at the beginning of 1745 the emperor died. His son Maximilian Joseph had no imperial ambitions and an Austro-Bavarian reconciliation in April, by incidentally ensuring the imperial succession to Maria Teresa's husband Francis, deprived Frederick of the pretext that he was the constitutional defender of the emperor's authority.

The destruction of Frederick had become Maria Teresa's primary aim; he was fighting for life now, and he got no help from France. But at Hohenfriedberg Frederick won a decisive victory. Maria Teresa's principal ally, England, had always refused to engage in hostilities with him, and now England was distracted with domestic alarms caused by the great Jacobite insurrection headed (July, 1745) by Charles Edward Stuart, the "Bonnie Prince Charlie" of the Highland clans and the "Young Pretender" of English and Scottish Whigs. Charles invaded England with a small army of his clansmen at his back, having routed such troops as had opposed him; but the English Jacobites did not rise, and when he reached Derby (November) the momentous decision to retreat was taken. Advance would probably have meant annihilation; retreat meant inevitably the abandonment of the adventure—though it was not altogether abandoned till the clansmen had been cut to pieces at Culloden (April, 1746), and the prince was a fugitive. Thenceforth Jacobitism was no more than a sentimental memory.

The rising, however, was only at its beginning when George II and Frederick came to terms in the Treaty of Hanover.

### Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle Ends the War

THE French overran the Netherlands, from which British forces were withdrawn to deal with the Jacobites. While Austrians and Saxons were endeavoring

with greatly superior forces to crush Frederick, the Spaniards were rapidly gaining ground in Italy. Frederick, instead of being crushed, not only defeated the Austrians but invaded Saxony and entered Dresden. Maria Teresa was forced to give way, and in December the treaty of Dresden ended the Prussian war. Frederick, confirmed in possession of Silesia, remained thenceforth a neutral.

Still the war dragged on for nearly three years. English and French were fighting each other by this time both in America, where the British captured Louisburg, and in India, where the French captured Madras. At last in 1748 England and Holland came privately to terms with France, and the pressure they brought to bear on Maria Teresa forced her to give way. The War of the Austrian Succession was brought to an end by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

For eight years Europe had been expending a vast amount of blood and treasure. The results were singularly barren. The one prince who had gained, and gained heavily, was the most cynically unscrupulous of all, Frederick II. He had made his name and won his prize. But he had done it by methods which made it absolutely certain that sooner or later he would have to fight his hardest to keep it. For the rest, practically all conquests made during the war were restored as before the war began.

Frederick had a respite of eight years which he devoted to the recuperation and reconstruction of which Prussia was sorely in need. He had no friends on whom he could rely, but his own and his army's military prestige was security enough against any attack unless by a coalition which he would have to face single-handed. The formation of such a coalition was at the same time the primary aim of the very able minister Kaunitz, who was beginning to take the leading place in the councils of Maria Teresa.

During the years of peace, while Kaunitz was weaving his diplomatic web, the contest between French and British in India was passing through its second phase. The first phase had begun with the declaration of war between France and England in 1744. It was initiated by the French governor at Pondicherry, Dupleix. His idea was to establish a dominant French influence at the courts of the two most powerful governors in southern India, the Nizam of the Deccan at Hyderabad and his subordinate lieutenant-governor, the "nawab" of the Carnatic at Arcot. The British Company had three "presidencies" in India, at Bombay, at Fort William (Calcutta) on the Hugli (Hooghli), one of the mouths of the Ganges, and at Madras in the Carnatic. The French headquarters were at Pondicherry, also in the Carnatic. Dupleix's plan was to eject the British under favor of the nawab. When the rival was disposed of, diplomacy would establish French influence at Arcot, then at Hyderabad.

**A PRINCE IN PETTICOATS**

This engraving by J. Williams shows the female disguise adopted by the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart, when he fled from Scotland after his defeat at Culloden in 1746.

*Photo, W. F. Mansell*

Dupleix sought and obtained the favor of Nawab Anwar ud-Din. He concerted his attack on the British with La Bourdonnais, the French admiral in command at the Isle of Mauritius, and Madras fell.

Frederick, on the other hand, came to the conclusion that the British-Hanover-

ian alliance would serve him better than the French. He wanted money badly, and Britain was the only ally who could finance him. While Kaunitz was pulling the last strings which brought France into the Austrian league, Frederick was overcoming British hesitation. Great Britain and Prussia signed the defensive Treaty of Westminster in January, 1756; in May France and Austria signed the defensive Treaty of Versailles. And everyone was arming hastily.

**FREDERICK II IN YOUNG MANHOOD**

This engaging portrait was painted by Antoine Pesne in 1739, the year before Frederick ascended the throne. It shows the prince, then twenty-seven years of age, powdered and wearing the ribbon of the Order of the Black Eagle.

*State Museum, Berlin*

The first move was made by France against England. A French squadron sailed from Toulon for Minorca. The English admiral in the Mediterranean would not risk a decisive engagement, and Minorca fell to the French. Byng was tried for his blunder, condemned, and shot on his own quarter-deck. In America the French governor Montcalm attacked and captured two British forts. In India a native potentate, the nawab of Bengal, seized Fort William, shut his prisoners up in a small windowless chamber, and forgot them—most of them died that night in the famous "Black Hole of Calcutta." For Great Britain, 1756 was a year of disaster.

France had started a war of her own with Britain, where the government remained in a condition of utter confusion till the voice of the country irresistibly summoned William Pitt to the helm at the midsummer of 1757. Within six months of the first outbreak Frederick started the war on the Continent. In August he invaded Saxony and marched on Dresden. His sole excuse was the certainty that Saxony was in the league against him. The Saxons blocked his passage at Pirna. Relief from the Austrians came too late. They were starved into surrender; Frederick occupied Dresden and impressed the Saxons into his own service. But they had held him up long enough to deprive his attack on Bohemia of carrying with it the valuable element of surprise.

Anwar ud-Din proposed to take over Madras: Dupleix declined to hand it over. The nawab sent ten thousand men to wipe him out, and Dupleix's little force of sepoys put them to rout. The nawab did not renew the attempt, and the fame of Dupleix and the French was noised abroad.

To his disgust the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle compelled him to restore Madras to the British. His scheme took a new

shape. The succession both to the nawabship and to the nizamship was in dispute. He could not now attack the British, since the two nations were at peace; but he offered his support, which was joyfully accepted, to two of the claimants. If they secured the succession through him, his influence at both courts would be supreme and the British would be eliminated. The British offered their support to the rival pair of candidates.

It appeared that victory was going decisively in favor of Dupleix, when the governor of Madras allowed Robert Clive to march with five hundred sepoys against Arcot—the French nawab was engaged in besieging the British nawab far away at Trichinopoli. Clive captured Arcot; a great force was marched up from Trichinopoli to recapture it. Clive held the place for seven weeks, repulsed a great attempt to storm it, then sallied out and scattered the besieging force, joined hands with the commander of a small force recruited from England, and marched to the relief of Trichinopoli. The French got their candidate on to the throne at Hyderabad, the British at Arcot, but the prestige had passed from the French to the British. The hostilities were stopped by the recall of Dupleix in 1754, and so ended the second phase.

### Diplomatic Revolution and Seven Years' War

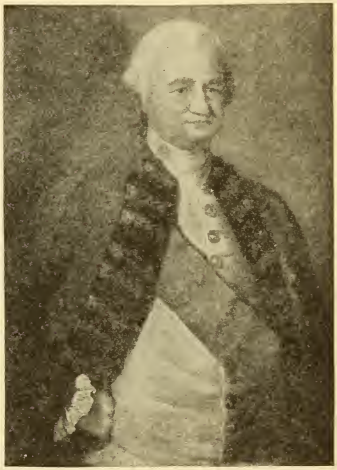
MEANWHILE the "Diplomatic Revolution" was taking place in Europe. Its master spirit was the Austrian Kaunitz, its aim the destruction of Frederick. But Austria's old ally Britain had also been persistently friendly to Prussia, and so Kaunitz resolved to abandon the British in favor of a French alliance.

In the spring of 1757 the whole coalition was moving upon Frederick from every side; the only cover he had was Hanover on his western flank. Austria, Russia and France, each of them had armies double the size of his own. His only chance was to attack them in detail with shattering blows, and so prevent their concentration.

As soon as possible he flung himself on Bohemia and won a brilliant victory before Prague in May. But a month later he suffered a disastrous defeat at Kolin and had to retreat to Prussia. The covering army of German auxiliaries on the Weser under Cumberland was defeated by the advancing French force at Hastenbeck, and was forced to capitulate at Kloster Zeven in September.

### Brilliant Victories of Frederick

A SECOND French army advanced upon Saxony; but Frederick enticed it to a pitched battle at Rossbach in November, and won a brilliant victory against greatly superior numbers. A month after



ROBERT LORD CLIVE

The chief founder of British Empire in India was Robert Clive (1725-1774), shown in this portion of a picture by Nathaniel Dance. His defense of Arcot (1751) and victory at Plassey (1757) are his most famous military exploits.

*National Portrait Gallery, London; photo, Emery Walker*

Rossbach Frederick won, over the Austrians in Silesia, a victory even more brilliant at Leuthen.

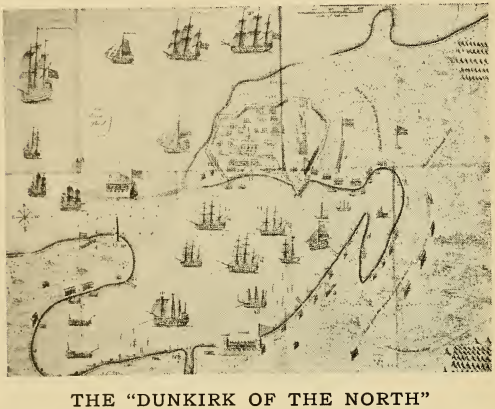
Frederick's brilliant victories could do little more than relieve now on one front and now on another the pressure which would be renewed as soon as his back was turned. But in 1758 Pitt's methods at last came into full play. The fleet distracted France by perpetual descents upon the naval ports which, though they came to little enough, kept masses of

French troops perpetually locked up. The Russian advance was checked by a hard-won victory at Zorndorf, while the Austrians were advancing into Saxony; and when Frederick dashed back to oppose them he met with a defeat, and was again saved from disaster only by the excessive caution of their commander, Daun.

In 1759 the toils were tightening about Prussia, for to Frederick victories were only less exhausting than defeats, since his enemies had incalculably larger reserves to draw upon. France, however, was becoming practically absorbed in the duel with Great Britain, which in this year achieved a series of triumphs. She had a substantial share in the victory at Minden (August) which drove the French permanently behind the Rhine; in two engagements, off Lagos and in Quiberon Bay, she annihilated the French fleet; and the hitherto indecisive campaigns in America were crowned by the capture of Quebec. In the second month of the next year, the French suffered their coup de grâce in India at Wandewash.

Frederick, however, met with a series of misfortunes. The Russians were again advancing; he flung himself against them at Künersdorf; not content with a hard-won victory, he tried to annihilate them; they rallied, and the victory was turned into a complete rout. But for his subsidies from England he could hardly have maintained the struggle; as matters stood he was still able, though with difficulty, to hold his own and a little more against the Austrians alone through 1760; since the Russians did not move again and France was now wholly absorbed in the vain endeavor to strike at England.

No material change arose in the situation during the next year, apart from the facts that there was a new king in England, George III, that alarm was being taken in certain quarters at the country's enormous war expenditure, and that the retirement of the great war minister, Pitt, was clearly impending.



THE "DUNKIRK OF THE NORTH"

Louisbourg was strongly fortified by the French in 1720. In 1745 it was invested by British land and sea forces and after a siege lasting forty-eight days surrendered to General Pepperrell. An account of the operations in which this plan was included was published in London the same year.

*From James Gibson, "A Journal of the Lale Siege"*

### Futile Intervention of Spain

CHOISEUL, the French minister, was about to play his last card, by bringing Spain into the war. Ferdinand, the successor of Philip V, was a resolutely pacific monarch, bent not on aggression but on recuperation. But in 1759 he died. The heir was his half-brother, Carlos of Naples, who like his elder brother, cared more for wise administration than for aggression. But against England he cherished an ineradicable grudge, and in 1762 Spain declared war. In fact, the sole result was to lay her own colonies at the mercy of the British fleet, which set about appropriating them one by one. Her intervention was not even an embarrassment. But Pitt had already resigned, and vigorous action was at an end.

### France Loses Canada

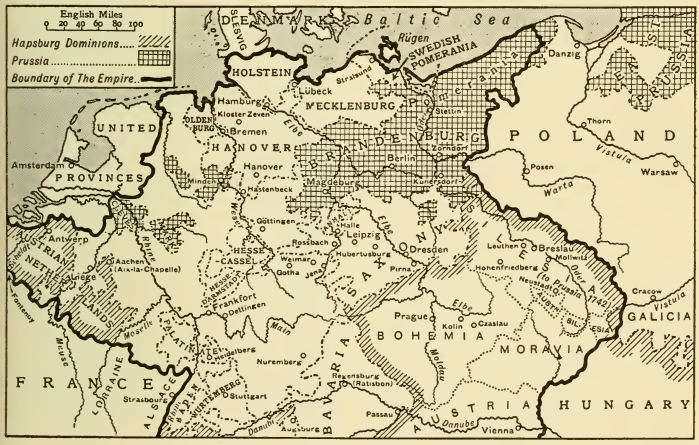
BY the middle of the eighteenth century the French explorers had claimed for their royal master a vast do-

main reaching from Labrador to the Pacific Ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico; in fact, the French crown claimed sovereignty over all of the present Dominion of Canada and most of the United States. The only important exceptions were the English colonies east of the Appalachian Mountains and the Spanish possessions in Florida and the Southwest.

But the French had done little, except in the St. Lawrence valley, to make real settlements. While there was a growing number of farmers in Quebec, even there the real settlers were greatly outnumbered by fur-traders, soldiers, and missionaries. Outside of Quebec these classes made up practically the whole population. The typical French village consisted of a fur-trading station, a fort, a church, and a few huts, while clustered about were the wigwams of the savages, for between them and the French there was the friendliest relationship. Indeed, there was much inter-marriage. The population of New France was scarcely eighty thousand by 1750; the English colonies with a far smaller territory contained a population of over a million and a half.

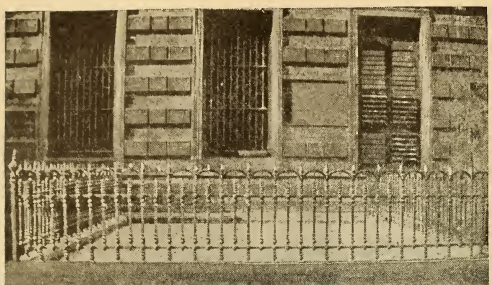
From the very beginning the people of New France had not the slightest voice in their own government. The governors sent over by the king, and the priests and bishops of the church, decided all questions, and even town councils were positively forbidden by the king. Not only was the French government supreme in politics but it was supreme in everything. The king sent out wives for his colonists, gave them agricultural machinery, regulated the strength of the brandy which they could drink, and even decided who should go first to the communion table. The Huguenots, who made splendid citizens in the English colonies, were not admitted to New France.

For a long time the Ohio River valley had been claimed by both the French and the English. The French said that all of the land drained by the Ohio and its tributaries belonged to them, because it flowed into the Mississippi, the northern




**COCKPIT OF CONTENDING DYNASTIES IN FIFTEEN YEARS OF WARFARE**

Prussian territorial ambitions and Bavarian claims to the Hapsburg succession consequent upon the death of Charles VI led in 1740 to the War of the Austrian Succession, in which Great Britain took sides with Austria and France with Prussia. In the event the war was barren of results, the principal territorial gainer being Prussia, which acquired the greater part of Silesia. The carnage of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) was hardly more productive of changes, the territorial distribution of Europe remaining much what it was before.



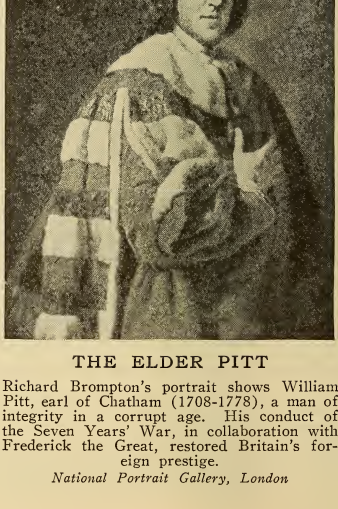
SITE OF THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA

Within the railings shown in this picture is enclosed the site of the ghastly dungeon known as the "Black Hole" at Fort William, Calcutta. On June 20, 1756, the nawab of Bengal, to whom the British fort had surrendered, confined 146 prisoners in this narrow space. Only 23 survived until the morning.

sources of which they had discovered. The English, on the other hand, had charter rights to this territory from their king, and traders from Virginia and Pennsylvania had entered it earlier than had the French. In 1747 the first Ohio Company, made up of Virginians and English capitalists, determined to make a permanent settlement in this region. They received a grant of land from the English government on which they agreed to settle two hundred families, build a fort, and maintain a garrison. George Washington's two older brothers were members of this company.

Alarmed at the activities of the Ohio Company, the French government began to build a line of forts from Lake Erie southward to hold the disputed territory, and they increased their garrisons. In 1753 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington with an official message, notifying the French that they were on English territory, and warning them not to advance any farther. Washington delivered his message to the French commander, who, however, paid no attention to it. By the next spring the French had reached the Ohio Company's fort, where Pittsburgh now stands, and had captured it and named it Fort Duquesne. Although war between England and France was not declared for two years, this struggle in the backwoods of Pennsylvania marked the beginning of the fourth and last "French and Indian War."

When war with France seemed almost a certainty, the English authorities called a congress of representatives from all of the colonies to meet at Albany in 1754. The purpose of the meeting was to find means of strengthening good feeling toward the English on the part of the Iroquois, who had shown an inclination to join France; to discuss a plan for making and governing settlements west of the mountains in a way which would not antagonize the Indians; and to unite the thirteen colonies in some manner so that they might better meet the danger consequent on an attack by the French.



THE ELDER PITT

Richard Brompton's portrait shows William Pitt, earl of Chatham (1708-1778), a man of integrity in a corrupt age. His conduct of the Seven Years' War, in collaboration with Frederick the Great, restored Britain's foreign prestige.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

**BRITISH TRIUMPH IN CANADA: THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC**

The year 1759 witnessed a series of British victories of which the taking of Quebec was one of the most notable. This contemporary print shows the English ships advancing up the St. Lawrence to the spot where General Wolfe climbed the Heights of Abraham. The French forces, under Montcalm, were routed on the summit. Both Wolfe and Montcalm fell during the battle, but Wolfe rallied beneath his mortal wound long enough to know that the English were victorious.

The situation in regard to the Indians was alarming. The western red men liked the English fur-traders, but they did not want farmers to settle in their lands. Governor Duquesne of Canada had taken advantage of this feeling and had told them that it would be better for them to have French forts in their country, for they could hunt under the very walls of the fort, which would protect them from the English settlers. Nevertheless, the Iroquois, after being lavishly supplied with English presents, promised to maintain their alliance with the English.

The Albany Congress was not able to accomplish as much with the problem of union as it did with that of the Indians. Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania proposed a plan of union which provided that the colonies should join in a confederation under a president appointed by the king, and that a council should be elected by the colonists with power to regulate all Indian questions—trade, the purchase of lands, war or peace, and new frontier settlements. The Albany Congress favored Franklin's plan, but the colonies and the English government rejected it. The time was not yet ripe for colonial union.

The struggle over the Ohio valley aroused the English. Although war had not been declared against France, an English fleet was ordered to stop a convoy of French vessels carrying supplies to New France, and two regiments of English soldiers under the command of General Braddock were sent to help recapture Fort Duquesne. With these English soldiers and a force of Virginians under Major George Washington, Braddock began his march toward the fort. He was a brave soldier and had fought with distinction in Europe, but he did not understand the Indian methods of fighting. As the English army advanced over the narrow corduroy road which the axemen constructed, the unprotected troops were drawn out over a distance of twelve miles. When the English, after great difficulties, had arrived within seven miles of Fort Duquesne, the French and Indians attacked them from ambush. General Braddock was killed, and Washington

AN INDEPENDENT MONARCH

Homely and blameless in private life, George III (1738-1820) was determined to direct policy, though he cannot be held responsible for all the misfortunes of his reign. This engraving by W. Holl is from the portrait by Sir T. Lawrence.

took command. He was able to save a part of the English soldiers by ordering them to fight from behind trees, Indian fashion, as they retreated. After Braddock's defeat the French were left in undisputed possession of Fort Duquesne. Braddock's defeat has led many to overlook the fact that his leading of an army as far as he did in the wilderness was in itself a great achievement.

Since Queen Anne's War, Acadia—now Nova Scotia—had belonged to the English, but the French inhabitants had steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to England, and had done everything possible to aid the French. When in 1755 the Acadians again refused to take the oath of allegiance they were removed from their homes and scattered among the different English colonies. It was harsh treatment, but the English had suffered severely from the stubborn loyalty of the Acadians to France, and the English believed that the Acadians would aid the French in the war which everyone saw was coming soon. The sufferings of the banished Acadians have been made immortal by Longfellow's "Evangeline."

In 1756 England declared war on France. At first she suffered many defeats. In America the French under General Montcalm captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, Fort Edward on the Hudson River and Fort William Henry on Lake George, thereby gaining control of the route to New England and New York. It looked as if all of the English colonies in the New World were to fall to France.

But after Pitt assumed control of the British Government, the English and colonial troops also began to win victories. Louisburg, Fort Frontenac, Fort Niagara, and Fort Ticonderoga in turn were forced to surrender to the English under such leaders as Bradstreet, Amherst and Wolfe. Fort Duquesne was destroyed by the French when they found it necessary to retreat from the Ohio valley before General Forbes. It was promptly rebuilt and christened Fort Pitt in honor of the great English minister. On the site of this fort, where so many stirring events took place, the wealthy city of Pittsburgh has since grown up.

Pitt realized that there would never be permanent peace in America so long as it was divided between France and England. Consequently, he laid plans for conquering Canada. With this in view he sent General James Wolfe to America in command of an army supported by a fleet with orders to take Quebec, the center of French power.

The fortress of Quebec was built on a high rock overlooking the St. Lawrence River. Montcalm, an experienced French general with a strong force, guarded Quebec on all sides but one, where cliffs falling sheer to the river seemed to make approach impossible. For four months Wolfe tried in vain to draw Montcalm into battle. Finally one dark night he led his men by a narrow path up the steep cliffs to the Plains of Abraham, just outside Quebec. When daylight came, the French discovered the English army drawn up ready for battle. A bloody engagement was fought, during which both Montcalm and Wolfe were mortally wounded. The English army, aided by dissension and indecision in the French camp, was victorious and entered the city. The next year Montreal surrendered to General Amherst, and the outcome of the

war was decided as far as America was concerned.

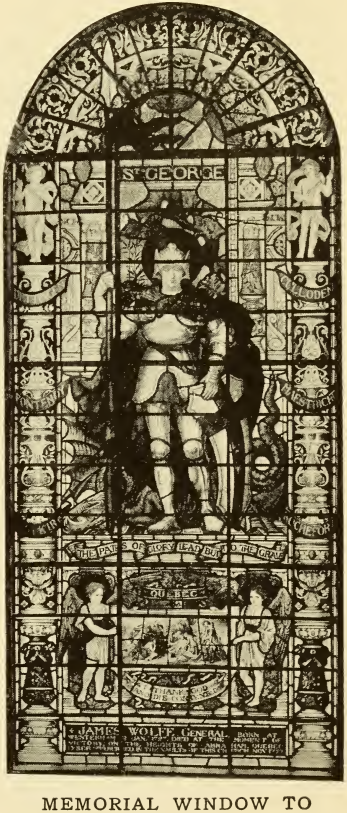
By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which closed the Seven Years' (French and Indian) War, France surrendered to England all French territory east of the Mississippi River, except two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland, and a small area around New Orleans which went to Spain along with the French territory west of the Mississippi. Spain surrendered Florida to England in return for Cuba, which the English had captured. This huge transfer of French territory to England was a great blow to the prestige of France. The American continent was lost to her forever.

### Russian Situation Favors Frederick

To return to Europe. Of very much greater importance than the declaration of war by Spain was the death of Tsaritsa Elizabeth, which set on the throne her nephew Peter III of Holstein, who had made a hero out of his aunt's bugbear Frederick the Great. For the moment Russia became Frederick's active ally, just as the new government in England was persuading itself that it had no obligations to Prussia. Six months after his accession, Peter was deposed and put to death by his wife, Catherine II; but though she withdrew her support from Frederick she declined to renew the alliance with Austria; and Frederick still proved himself more than a match for his inveterate enemy.

Britain, Prussia and Russia acting in concert could have prolonged the war to their own territorial advantage and with the certainty of success, but Russia did not mean to fight, and King George and his ministers were eager only for peace. By the terms of the treaties of Paris and Hubertusburg (February, 1763), Britain, enormous as were her spoils, restored much that she could legitimately have claimed from France or Spain by "right of conquest"; but except by the British government itself her moderation was attributed not to magnanimity but to a pusillanimous economy. She left Frederick to take care of himself, and he remained in possession of precisely what he possessed when the war began; the Saxon, Austrian and Russian territories also remained as before. Prussia's position was established, Austria's unchanged.

Apart from the enormous wastage of the Seven Years' War, the one serious sufferer was France, who found herself shut out of both North America and India; the one power which had made positive gains was Great Britain, left without a rival in North America or a European rival in India, where the East




MEMORIAL WINDOW TO WOLFE

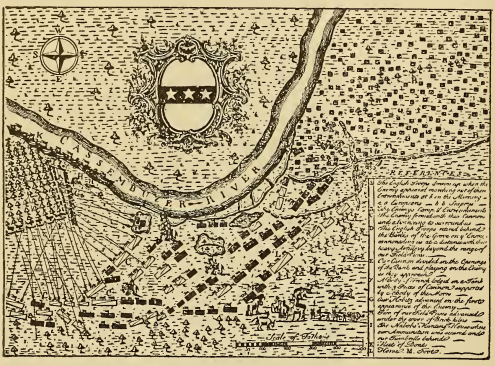
This beautiful memorial window in St. Alphege's Church, London, commemorates the victories of General James Wolfe. He was only 32 years of age when he died "content," as he said, on the Heights of Abraham after capturing Quebec.

India Company was now definitely recognized as one among several territorial powers; while by the treaty she recovered the one serious loss of the war—her Mediterranean naval station Minorca.

### Problems Occupying Great Britain

GREAT BRITAIN after the Peace of Paris ceased to interest herself in the affairs of Europe at large. She was absorbed in two constitutional struggles; one directly concerning the relations between the crown, parliament and the electorate, the other the relations between the mother country and her colonies; while incidentally she was forced to make tentative efforts to deal with the new obligations imposed on her by the unprecedented situation in India.

The industrial revolution had its birth in Britain at this time, because it was there that the inventions were made which multiplied production by the substitution of machinery, driven first by water power and then by steam power, for tools or instruments operated by hand, and the accompanying substitution of iron and steel for wood; while there also the necessary iron could be produced in abundance, and in proximity to the great coalfields from which the fuel required for the new manufacturing processes could be procured. The British mercantile marine was already the world's carrier; the new development of the machinery of which Britain had the practical monopoly turned the island into the world's workshop; and the simultaneous development of Adam Smith's new economic doctrine of wealth, displacing the hitherto unchallenged mercantilist creed, rapidly enriched—though for a time at the expense of the welfare of the laboring classes—the country, which was already much wealthier than its Continental rivals.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

Robert Clive's brilliant victory over the nawab of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, on June 23, 1757, at Plassey, made the British masters of Bengal. This plan gives the disposition of the opposing armies. The enemy's camp and entrenchments are on the right, while Clive's forces are drawn up on the outskirts of a grove on the left.

*Memorials of the Revolution in Bengal, 1760*

The domestic problem turned upon the attempt of George III, foreshadowed by Charles II, to recover the supremacy of the crown, not by overriding parliament after the fashion of Charles I and James II, but by himself procuring that power of controlling parliamentary majorities which the great landowning Whig families had been able to exercise for half a century. Within ten years of his accession, George had attained his object; for some twelve years the king's ministers were the men of his own choice and were supported by unfailing parliamentary majorities; then the system broke down because the "king's friends" proved intolerably incapable administrators; the king chose a minister who was never a figurehead and presently became a dictator, and the new royalist system went the way of the old Whig system.

### Britain in India

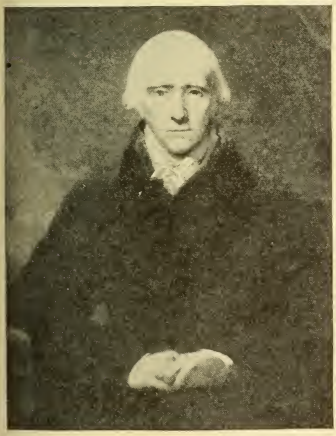
THE popular impression that Clive at the head of a handful of Englishmen overthrew a great empire and conquered India has not, perhaps, been wholly eradicated even now. In 1740 the Mogul empire was in a state of complete disintegration; the great governorships had

already become in effect independent kingdoms under Mahomedan rulers each of whom intended to establish his own dynasty, though none of them held his position by any kind of hereditary right. The Mogul had neither the power nor the will to control them.

British and French began to fight each other under the pretext of maintaining the lawful authority of rival claimants to governorships; the result of the fighting was the elimination of French influence. The nawab of Arcot had become a puppet in the hands of the British at Madras; their influence dominated the Nizam of Hyderabad. The crazy aggression of the half-mad nawab of Bengal had necessitated an armed expedition thither under Clive's leadership; he had associated himself with a native conspiracy for the deposition of the nawab whose forces he routed at Plassey; and he found that he had thereby made himself responsible for the preservation of law and order in that great province where he had in effect set up a new nawab. To retire was impossible, and to remain was profitable. He obtained legal sanction for the position of the East India Company as rulers of Bengal from the legal sovereign, the Mogul at Delhi, by negotiation. He and subordinate officers, Eyre Coote and Monro, established a reputation as invincible captains.

HAIDER ALI KHAN

The activities of Haider (or Hyder) Ali (c. 1722-82), a low-born adventurer who became the powerful sultan of Mysore, were an obstacle to British progress in India. This sketch of him was drawn by J. Leister in 1776.



FIRST GOVERNOR OF BRITISH INDIA

The forceful policy pursued by Warren Hastings (1732-1818), first governor-general in British India, in a difficult situation, evoked criticism, a protracted trial and, finally, in 1795, acquittal. This portrait is by Sir T. Lawrence.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

### British Government in India

THUS a company of traders in London found itself responsible for the administration of a huge province with a mixed population of millions of Hindus and Mahomedans, with laws, customs and diversities of religion for which Europe provided no parallel. A government had to be created, and the British government at home had an uneasy sense that it could not escape responsibility for the character of that government. The result was the enactment of the lame constitution of the "Regulating Acts" of 1773, under which Warren Hastings was made governor-general of the three British presidencies.

Clive had not conquered India. The

British authority did not extend beyond Bengal, with the towns of Madras and Bombay and the immediately neighboring districts. India was covered with potentates great and small, Hindu or Mahomedan. The Hindu Maratha confederacy was dominating central India and the Mogul himself at Delhi. Oudh under a nawab-wazir lay between Delhi itself and Bengal; its wazir had very soon made up his mind that the British were the rising power, and cultivated their friendship from fear of the Marathas. In the south, a Mahomedan adventurer, Haider Ali, was making himself master of the Hindu kingdom of Mysore. The Nizam, with the Marathas on two flanks and Mysore on another, also cultivated British friendship, for a similar reason. Over none of them had the British any authority. None of them wished to quarrel with the British; but all looked at them askance as possibly useful allies but certainly dangerous rivals.

As for the British, neither the Madras government nor the Bombay government had the least compunction in traversing the policy of the governor-general and involving him in quite needless complications with the country powers; his hands were tied by the Calcutta Council, nominated from London, who could and did habitually outvote him; while he was obliged to raise from the country the necessary funds for administration, for maintaining the needful military establishment (mainly sepoys), and for providing a surplus out of which the Company might pay handsome dividends to its shareholders—besides working out the principles upon which administration must be organized. It is small wonder that he was driven occasionally to expedients excusable only on the grounds of sheer necessity: much more astonishing that he was able to create in Bengal a better government than it had known since the days of Akbar, to increase British prestige, to defeat the powers with which he was forced to fight, and to leave the British established as the ascendant power in India; though he neither extended nor sought to extend the British territory. For which services he was duly impeached on his return to England in 1785. Pitt (the younger) had already passed the India Act, setting up the revised system of government that lasted till 1858.

# THE RUSSIA OF THE ROMANOVS

## HOW THE NATION FOUNDED BY IVAN VELIKI ROSE TO GREATNESS UNDER PETER ALEXIEVICH AND CATHERINE II

By C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, D.Litt. F.R.G.S.

*Professor of History, Birmingham University, formerly Fellow and Sub-Warden of Merton College, Oxford; Part Author of History of Russia from the Varangians*

IVAN III, Ivan Veliki, John the Great (1462-1505), one of the chief statesmen of the age of classical Renaissance, a consummate builder of 'new monarchy,' a Russian counterpart (in some measure) of Louis XI, is the first founder of the modern Russian Empire. By him the Moscow power was raised to the level of an important Christian state.

During his reign the Reuniter of Russian Lands (this is his especial and distinctive title) reunited all Russians—outside the definite territories of the Roman Catholic powers—and made of them one Muscovite nation, three times more extensive in 1505 than in 1460. This nation he emancipated from Tatar overlordship and made the only representative, in high politics, of the Russian race and name.

There was now a real Russian consciousness that a mighty work, the result of ages, was at last in steady and rapid progress, re-creating and reviving the race, and fitting it to play a higher and more decisive part in the world. Under Ivan Veliki a movement which had been slowly maturing for more than a century is completed, almost with the speed of geometrical progression. The whole of the Great Russian family, all the Russian stock that formed part of the eastward colonial movement of the Middle Ages, with its historic basis in the Old Novgorod of the ninth century and with its new capital in the Mother Moscow of the fourteenth, was now united under one rule.

Ivan the Great, as head of this sovereign international state, takes the position and title of 'tsar,' 'tsyesar,' a supreme ruler, king or emperor. In 1472, immediately after the conquest of Old Novgorod, he makes a fresh and significant marriage. His second wife was Sophia, a niece of Constantine Palaeologus, the last Christian emperor of the East, who perished with such glory at the fall of the City and the Empire in 1453. This marriage expressed the new claims and the new position of Moscow—an expression made more complete by the disappearance of the Tatar overlordship from 1480. Rising Moscow is now the one great political power, not only among

REUNITER OF RUSSIAN LANDS

This profile, engraved from a contemporary portrait by a certain Rovinski that no longer exists, shows the first 'High prince and autocrat of All Russia,' Ivan III Vasilievich (1462-1505), surnamed the Great.

*From Thevet, 'La Cosmographie Universelle,' 1575*

**STAGES IN THE EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST OF ASIATIC RUSSIA UNDER THE EARLY TSARS**

Russian expansion eastwards began with the conquest of the khanates along the Volga in 1555, after which Ivan the Terrible granted charters to the Stroganov family for trans-Ural colonization. The definite Russian conquest of the whole of northern Asia began in 1581 when the khanate on Sibir was appropriated. Thence the Muscovite tentacles spread out in ever widening range until by the middle of the seventeenth century they had reached as far as Lake Baikal, eastwards to the sea of Okhotsk and northwards to the Arctic Ocean.

faithful Russians, but throughout Eastern, Greek or Orthodox Christendom. Thus she becomes a new capital of the faith and of all true believers, as well as the capital of a new line of Orthodox Caesars. She is the third and final Rome.

The age of Ivan the Great (1462-1505)—continued under his successors until the fatal apostasy of Ivan the Terrible to tyranny and barbarism in 1564—may be considered as a century of hope. It has been called the golden age of the Russian autocracy. Even more than the early Romanov period (1613-1700) it was a time of relative happiness.

**Golden Age of Russian Autocracy**

At no other epoch did the tsardom so command the confidence and serve the best interests of all classes as at this era—the life-time of Michelangelo. Russians as a whole (and the Russian proletariat was then decidedly more conscious of life and hope than in the later generations of serfdom) felt something like enthusiasm for the Grand Princes of Moscow. More and more they thought of them as true tsars of all the Russian stocks, as protectors and champions and representatives of Russian Christianity. Moscow became the expression of racial and national unity, consciousness, power and hope. Veritable migrations set in, skilfully stimulated by the policy of Ivan the Great. Nobles and lesser landowners, merchants and petty traders flocked to the White Stone City from other parts of Muscovite Russia—and even from Lithuania-Poland and from the Tatar khanates on the east and south. No element was more important in this movement than the religious. Since 1326 Moscow had become the ecclesiastical center of Orthodox Russia; the metropolitan of all Russian-Greek Christians had then fixed his bishop's seat in the city. Since 1453 and the fall of Constantinople Moscow had rapidly become a new spiritual capital for all the Eastern Orthodox world.

Economically and colonially, moreover, the position of Moscow was even then of the highest promise, and history has seen that promise fulfilled. In a land of rivers it was a kind of central point; however far from a seaboard, it yet had many of the assets of a seaport. It faced the regions of the future. It naturally led Russian expansion eastwards and south-eastwards. Itself in the old forest zone, it was near enough to the agricultural belt to reap no small share of the profits of that richly productive farming area.

MOSCOW'S FANTASTIC CATHEDRAL

Ivan the Terrible began the cathedral church of S. Basil at Moscow in 1554. Dark little chapels on two floors are surmounted by bulbous cupolas and a scale-covered spire, all painted in rainbow colors and topped by gilded crosses.

*Photo, S. J. Beckett*

The tide which had begun to flow so strongly under Ivan III continued steadily until the meridian of Ivan IV. Then ensued a famous national tragedy. In the bitter quarrel which broke out between the tsar and his nobility Ivan IV took up the position of a capricious despot, an absolute master of slaves. A lust of cruelty took possession of him. He indulged in orgies of brutality and folly, alternating with fits of passionate religion. He even at one time executed a kind of semi-abdication, appointing a mock tsar to reign in Moscow, while he buried himself in the country.

Under these conditions government, administration and national defence suffered grievously.

This reign of cruelty and caprice, these twenty years of tyranny and terror from 1564 to 1584, reached a miserable climax in 1582 with the despot's manslaughter of his elder and only capable son in a moment of passion. Thus the tsar himself fatally compromised the future of his dynasty and (for nearly a generation of dangerous years) the stability of his Russia. The extinction of the old Rurikid line, the usurpation of Boris Godunov, the Pretenders, the Poles in Moscow, and the whole of the 'Time of Troubles' have their origin in the wild-beast folly of a not ungifted autocrat who lost control of himself.

But however troubled at home, and however unsuccessful against settled and civilized neighbors of the West, the Russia of Ivan the Terrible was favored by fortune in her colonial expansion.

On one side the daring and stubborn, ever baffled enterprise of the English, especially in 1553-4, to discover a northeast passage for trade to Cathay and the Indies led to the opening of direct maritime intercourse between Muscovy and western Europe. On the other the discovery and conquest and settlement of Siberia, the latter dating from Ivan the Terrible's grant of land in 1558 to the Stroganov family, were destined to expand appreciably the area of Christendom and of Aryan civilization, and to give to both marvelous new opportunities little realized for ages.

In certain ways, on certain sides, Russian culture made advances even under Ivan the Terrible. The first printing-press was set up in Moscow in 1553, and the earliest Russian printers worked under the special protection of the tsar and the patriarch of Moscow. As Ivan's character degenerated his enlightenment

THE KREMLIN AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1764—THE SPIRED

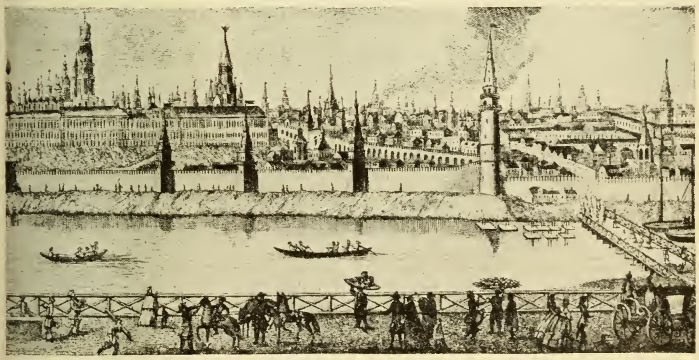
Once the residence of the Russian tsars, the Kremlin, in the center of Moscow, stands upon a hill 130 feet above the waters of the river Moskva. Ivan III erected the high stone walls with fan-shaped battlements which enclose this inner city with its five gates and nineteen towers, seen in this engraving of 1764. The center of the view in each case is occupied by the great campanile 'of Ivan Veliki' erected by Boris Godunov in 1600. It is 320 feet high to the

waned, and after 1564 he permitted the printers to be driven out, not to return until the days of Michael Romanov. Muscovy, therefore, lost the honor of being the homeland of the first complete Slavonic printed Bible. This appeared in an Old Russian land, indeed, but one long alienated—at Ostrog in Volhynia, under Polish rule, in 1581. The legal measures of the reign, moreover, are not to be forgotten. Such are the Stroglav or 'Book of the Hundred Chapters,' regulating Church affairs, and the Sudebnik of 1550. And the Hundred Chapters themselves may be considered a result of that well known ecclesiastical commission of Ivan Grozny's earliest days, from which springs the new sixteenth century development of Russian church schools, and so many measures for the improvement and instruction of clergy and laity.

Now follows one of the most difficult, tangled, romantic and tragic periods of Russian history (1584-1613). The whole of it may well be called by a name officially given only to the last portion of the epoch (1605-1613)—the Time of Troubles.

Behind the weak and guileless devotee who next sat in the seat of the Terrible Tsar—a Russian Edward the Confessor—looms the enigmatic, arresting, imposing figure of Boris Godunov, the supplanter. His sister Eirene is married to Tsar Feodor (Theodore); he himself is the all-powerful councillor of the crown. Then on the death of the sovereign-saint in 1598 this Muscovite Richard III, this Slavonic Macbeth (as the mass of his people thought of him)—Boris Godunov himself—is elected tsar. To Orthodox feeling this was not only usurpation but blasphemy. The sacred crown of the anointed Caesars, of the divinely commissioned protectors of the Church and rulers of the faithful, had passed out of the true line of succession into the hands of a semi-Tatar, stained with murder upon murder, vice upon vice. He had made away, men believed, with the child Dmitri, Feodor's only brother, last of the children of the Terrible, last of the rightful line of Rurik. A little less positively, he was also credited with the murder of Tsar Feodor's only child.

Against this almost universal distrust and loathing, Boris fought with success. When he died in April, 1605, himself at last perhaps a victim of the poison that he may have often used against others, he had just won a striking victory over the pretender, the first 'False Dmitri'



**TOWERS OF THE FORTRESS CITY THAT DOMINATES MOSCOW**

top of the cross and towers above the Uspenski Cathedral built in the Lombardo-Byzantine style with Indian cupolas by Ivan III, who also built the Arkhangelski (S. Michael), in which many of the tsars are buried. The Great Palace, not remarkable architecturally but magnificent inside, is in the opposite page.

*Engraving from Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite' in Oncken, 'Allgemeine Geschichte'*

(the Perkin Warbeck of Russia) and his Polish allies. Until his death he had maintained, with vigor and renown, the power of his state, both as regent and as tsar. He had developed the port of Archangel, and with it the important foreign maritime trade, especially with England and Holland. He had gloriously repulsed a great invasion of the Krim Tatars in 1591. He had fostered Russian relations with other nations: like the Great Peter after him, like the Great Ivan before him, he fought hard against the isolation, ignorance and backwardness of his countrymen.

And even if he helped in the movement towards serfdom, giving fresh legal sanction to the degradation and enslavement of the peasant, and binding him more closely than ever to the soil, he was but following the evil lead of the sixteenth century, he was but anticipating the complete serf system of the seventeenth century, as crystallized in the legislation of 1649. And in fairness we must remember how vigorously Boris faced the terrible year of famine (in 1601), and in how many ways he worked for the material prosperity of the Moscow realm. In Moscow itself he was a great builder; the tower of Ivan Veliki witnesses to him.

**PEASANT FAMILY LIFE IN RUSSIA**

An eighteenth-century cottage interior is shown in this picture by Jean Baptiste Leprince. The baby's cradle swings from a pole fastened to wall and ceiling, the rest of the family sleeping on the stove; wooden bowls and spoons were the eating utensils; on a shelf in the corner are the holy ikons.

*From Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*

### National Collapse and Anarchy

And after Boris national collapse and anarchy seemed, for the time, complete (1605-1613). First through their agents, the False Dmitri and his Polish wife Marina, then through their own armed forces (in the invasion of 1609) the Polish leaders almost mastered Moscow and its empire. For years they occupied as conquerors the White Stone City; their own Ladislas, son of King Sigismund III, is 'elected' tsar, at the point of the sword. The New Russia—the great creation of the Moscow princes, of East-Slav Orthodoxy and of Russian nationalism—seemed verging on extinction.

The situation appeared a desperate one; it was like that of France between Agincourt and Jeanne d'Arc, of Germany at the close of the Thirty Years' War. At the heart and in the limbs of the hapless giant were triumphant foreign conquest, treason, brigandage, famine and disease. Cannibalism was appearing in some regions. Government, except by hostile kings and generals and armies, had almost ceased, in this land of such stern centralized government.

Then came deliverance. From every class—from nobles, clergy and commons—there welled up a movement of such

ardent, wide-spread and well directed patriotism that the whole face of affairs was changed as by a miracle. Outstanding were the energy and the inspiration of the Church, working now from a fresh center, already famous in religion, now to be famous in war and politics, the Troitsa (Trinity) monastery-fortress near Moscow, a last refuge of Orthodoxy and nationalism. All over the Muscovite Empire went the appeals of the Trinity monks, not falling on deaf ears. For this empire, and this faith, the butcher-hero Kuzma Minin stepped forward to lead the burghers of Nijny-Novgorod. For the same cause men came even from the far north-east, from the Kama, the Urals and Siberia. For the same cause Prince Dmitri Pojarsky of the Starodub country took command of the new great national levy which rolled in from all sides to be led to Moscow.

When the army of Pojarsky and Minin had once joined forces with other Russian bodies, and especially with the Kazaks of the Don success followed success. Despite all the weaknesses and mistrusts of the allies, despite the crimes and cowardices and treasons of some of them, they are able to work together—sufficiently, if not happily.

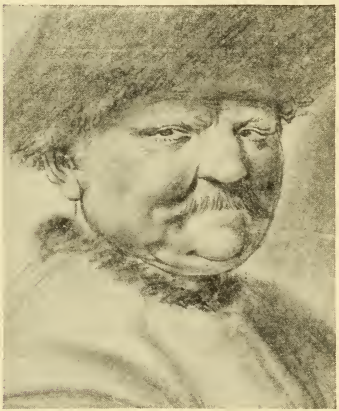
And now, after the Poles had been driven out of Moscow, and the weary line of tsar-pretenders had come to an end, for a time the Russian people also expressed itself constitutionally. Michael Romanov (1612-1645) was elected at a 'zemsky sobor,' a gathering of the land, or national assembly, which appears to have been the nearest thing to a true parliament ever yet seen in the Russia of Moscow.

Young Michael was a cousin of Tsar Feodor Ivanovich—last of the old Rurikid line, the gentle sovereign whom so many Russians (we have seen) regarded as a martyr, and something of a saint, the most illustrious victim of Godunov. And Michael also represented the best and most honored elements of the old Moscow nobility; for his family came down from the days of Ivan Kalita, first of the great Moscow princes, and had in the worst times maintained a good name. By persecuting them Godunov had given them still higher honor, an almost religious reverence. In the Church as in society they were very powerful.

### Recuperation after Exhaustion

Thus Russia was saved, a convalescent after a terrible illness. But she had been shaken to her foundations, and for many years she lived a very quiet European life. Her only efforts at expansion for half a century—and very remarkable and effective were these efforts—occurred in Asia.

It is in the reign of Michael Romanov



PETER THE GREAT

All Peter the Great's qualities were on a colossal scale—demonic energy, violent passions, relentless cruelty and withal a strain of nobility. In this color portrait by an unknown artist we can see the man as he was.
*Musée Condé, Chantilly; photo, Giraudon*

that Russian expansion reaches the Baikal, the Lena and the Pacific (at the Sea of Okhotsk). World history gives few examples of more rapid, of more essentially brilliant colonizing advance. And, as yet, it was mainly a free colonization. Infinitely scattered, wonderfully slender and fragmentary, it was not yet dominated by penal policy. Siberia had not yet been made into a dumping-ground for criminals.

With these colonial glories we have to contrast the social degradation of the Russian peasantry at home. Especially under Michael Romanov was this process completed. True, it had been lamentably quickened under Ivan the Terrible and in the Troubled Time which followed him.

PROSPECT OF ST. PETERSBURG IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Benjamin Paters painted in 1749 the picture of which this is an engraving. The pontoon bridge, later known as the Palace Bridge, was then called S. Issac's Bridge. At its far end is the equestrian statue of Peter the Great with the cathedral of S. Issac, replaced by the present church in 1819, behind it. On the right of the picture is the parliament building, formerly the imperial chancellor's palace. On the left is the admiralty building, with spired tower, and the dockyards on a fortified island.

*From Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*

Yet the bulk of the Moscow laborers until now had been nominally free, though they had long been steadily sinking into a more absolute dependence upon the land lords. By the famous census of 1627-8, based upon the 'Domesday' work of 1619-1626, the peasantry were tied down to definite localities by the government, as they were tied to definite masters by contract or economic need. Such masters allowed their peasants to use a part of their land, and in return exacted an abundant rent in labor services.

The result of all this was that the Russian peasantry, having now lost all their independence, and having now become merged with the old traditional slave class (numerous and important in the earliest Russia), became the simple chattel-property of their land lords, while the latter were made collectively responsible for the taxes which the state claimed from the peasants.

Under Alexis Romanov (1645-1676), the son of Michael, the father of Peter the Great, Muscovite Russia makes decided progress. And in various directions. Territorially Russian expansion advances, even in the west. In Asia, again, the Russian colonial empire steadily and rapidly widens. When Simon Dejnev the Cossack in 1648 passed through the strait which a later age called that of Vitus Bering—discovering the north-eastern extremity of the Old World and the north-western extremity of the New—he summed up in one astonishing achievement, scarcely noticed at the time, long forgotten afterwards and only disinterred in modern times, a whole epic of discovery and conquest and settlement, nowise inferior to any American, African or Australian chapter. It was less than seventy years since the Urals had been crossed. And now the Russians were touching Alaska.

### Western Ideas Penetrate Russia

ANOTHER outstanding feature of Russian development at this time is 'Westernism,' Europeanization, the willing reception and absorption of instruction, suggestion and light from Europe, west of the Slavonic world. Foreign officers and military instructors began to be employed. Largely with foreign help better arsenals and foundries were established. It was in the latter days of Michael, in and after 1632, that important factories began at Tula, the Russian

Sheffield, under Dutch inspiration and leadership. There was even talk of the development of a Russian mercantile marine, which somewhat prepared the way for the practical achievements of Peter the Great.

While Western science proved its value in the realms of engineering and metallurgy, Western civilization began to be appreciated by Russians for its revelation of the comforts and luxuries of life. Education began to attract far more attention. And not only were these impulses noticeable as derived from Europe, but there was also a certain intellectual Renaissance largely of philosophical, theological and classical character, derived from the Russian lands hitherto under the Polish yoke, and hard pressed by Roman Catholic propaganda.

The age of Peter Alexievich (1682-1725) is by common consent one of the decisive periods of Russian, as of world history. And Peter himself, with all his brutalities, is undoubtedly one of the world's great men. The one thing for which he lived was the good of his country, willing or unwilling, and in the main he was a wonderful success. Not only in his great struggle with the Swedish power, in forcing his way through to the Baltic, in acquiring a new and valuable coast, his window in the west, from Riga to Viborg. Nor only in his new imperial title and in his new claims over all the Russians to the Bug and the Carpathians. Nor only in the gain of the prestige of Poltava and of the Peace of Nystadt. Nor only in the foundation of the new capital, city of Peter and of Peter's patron saint. But also perhaps in things much less famous, yet sometimes hardly less momentous. As in leaving Russia entirely free from public debt. As in trebling the public revenue. As in developing trade and the natural resources of his country. As in pouring into the Russian mind to the utmost of his power (translation on a vast scale was one item) the results of foreign science. As in making that Russian mind study useful knowledge for itself. As in sending Russians abroad to learn about the world, and bringing foreign intellect into Russia. As in creating a navy and a mercantile marine. As in developing one of the greatest armies then known—200,000, in a nation of twenty millions.

Peter's reforms touched subjects numberless—all these measures being pervaded by his ideals of a well ordered, thoroughly subordinated, carefully articulated, efficient paternal autocracy, devoting all its energies to the good of the people, and stimulating all the energies of the people (by however stern and bitter a compulsion) to the same end.

There were few things more characteristic of Peter than his universal scheme of national service. He endeavored to make all the nobility, and all the land owners and serf owners work for the state, in return for their land and their laborers. The subjection of the peasants to the land owners was in his eyes the

EMPRESS ELIZABETH I

This engraving by Tschemeson shows Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, who became empress of Russia in 1741. Throughout the Seven Years' War she consistently opposed Frederick the Great, and her death in 1762 saved his failing fortunes.
*After the painting by L. Tocqué*

very thing which enabled those land owners to do their duty by the state. Much of the land he regarded, as the older tsars had regarded it, in the light of national property bestowed on the aristocracy and gentry for this very purpose.

None is better known among Peter's reforms, and few are more interesting, than his campaign against the older semi-oriental usages of Russian society. The

CATHERINE THE GREAT

Catherine II (1729-1796) became empress of Russia upon the murder of her husband, Peter III, in 1762, and under her capable rule the power and dominion of Russia became greatly strengthened. She introduced many beneficent reforms. This engraving of her is after Schebanoff's original painting.

*Engraving by James Walker*

women had lived in their 'terems' in almost Mahomedan seclusion. Peter changed all this, and brought both sexes together in the 'assemblies' which he instituted. Kaftans—the long cassock-like coats coming down from the Tatar age—were frowned upon, and in their place we find the costumes of the court of Louis XIV, perruques and all. The old ceremonial of the tsardom, with its prostrations, was greatly modified. Even beards were to be shaved away at Peter's command (the thrifty tsar permitting those to escape who paid a special tax). After this, what was it to reform chronology, to stop computation from an 'Era of Creation,' to begin computation from the Birth of Christ, or to begin the year no longer in September?

But after the death of Peter in 1725 the spirits of efficiency, energy and initiative in his great empire seem paralyzed for nearly half a century. And the progress of that empire is choked by the luxuriant growth of every kind of political and social corruption. Thus to the French cynic the Russians are 'rotten' before they are 'ripe.'

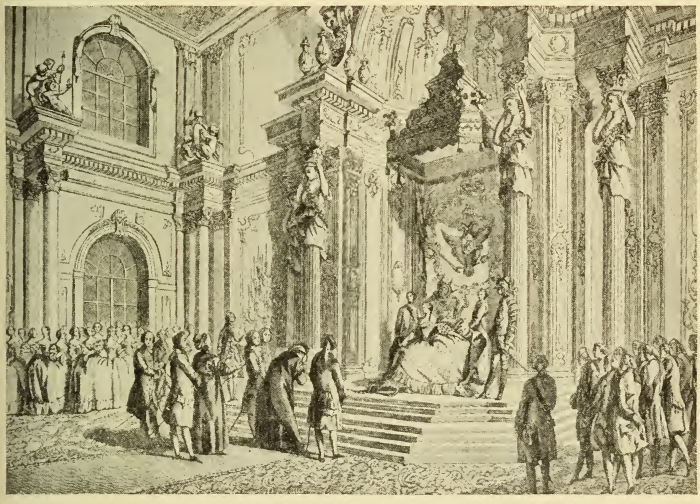
Court intrigues incessantly nullify the efforts of honest workers in war and peace. Externally there are few more victories, little more expansion (until the age of Catherine II, 1762-1796). We have only to contrast the position at the death of Peter with the position at the death of Elizabeth (1725-1762). Russia has relinquished the Persian and Caucasian gains of the 'Pater Patriae' and has made no appreciable advance in any other field. She has also squandered much blood, treasure and energy in a senseless war against Frederick of Prussia, to gratify the personal whims and hatreds of an even more than usually dissolute empress, the last of the true Romanovs. And now by 1762 she has faced right round again, has discovered a new and more fruitful line of policy, and has formed a Russian-Prussian entente which, with some interruptions and some refrigerations, may be said to last for a century and a quarter, from 1762 to 1890.

The death in 1762 of the empress Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, the anti-Prussian, the enemy of Frederick, not only saved that great captain in the lowest depths of his fortune, decisively and finally altered the course of the Seven Years' War, and resettled the balance of European power. It also opened the way to a pro-German policy and to pro-German tendencies in Russia.

Princess Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst had been chosen in 1744 by Frederick of Prussia to be the wife of the Russian heir-presumptive, the half-German Peter III. She had long since entered the Greek Church, and as Grand Duchess Catherine, and as empress, she identified herself with Russian nationalism and the Old Russian party to a remarkable degree. With almost infallible instinct she remained true to that allegiance throughout her reign. The most patriotic Russians forgot to grumble at her origin. She became the 'mother of the land' to her subjects.

Yet it was true, from the beginning to the end, that in her the German race, Germanism, had a relative and a friend on the throne of the great Slav power. No one could accuse her of neglecting, even of postponing, Russian interests, but she was instinctively drawn not to distrust and oppose the German courts and the German influences, but to understand them and co-operate with them. And so we find her in constant and close relations with Vienna and Berlin. It was significant that by 1792, in Catherine's last days, the younger Pitt had been brought to adopt quite an anti-Russian attitude, and already to lay down the main principles of British suspicion and opposition to the tsardom in the Eastern Question and in world politics. British public opinion would not as yet support its government in such an attitude of Russophobia. But the time was coming.

Far more than ever under Catherine II that Eastern question begins to assume its later form, so familiar to the nineteenth century, in which Russia dominates the whole political and social situation in the Levant of Turkey and of Persia.



EXCHANGE OF COURTESIES BETWEEN RIVAL POWERS IN THE LEVANT

Catherine the Great's stately reception of the Turkish embassy after her coronation is commemorated in this engraving after the court painter Jean de Belly. Her firm policy in regard to the Ottoman empire was consistently directed to the advancement of Russian interests, and by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji she determined Russia's commanding position in the Levant and established the right of Russian intervention on behalf of all Orthodox Christians under Turkish rule.

*From Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*

The peace of Kuchuk Kainarji, the peace of 1774, opened and proclaimed the new state of affairs quite definitely. It established in Russian possession the all-important right of intervention and intercession on behalf of the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottoman sultan in the Danubian principalities, or Rumania. That right would soon be extended to include all adherents of the Greek Church under Turkish rule, while retaining a special application to Moldavia and Wallachia. Until the Crimean War it lay at the very foot of the position. Equally did the new importance of Russia on the Black Sea emerge under Catherine.

For the first time since the death of Peter reappears Russian expansion in the Caucasian lands, and towards Persia—Russian pressure upon Persia itself. The Russian protectorate extends beyond the great range, and settles over Georgia. The sunny south of Caucasus (as of the Crimean chain) is passing under Russian influence. The venerable and fascinating Christianity of the Tiflis country, so long encircled by unbelievers and threatened by a whole world of enemies, is finding a powerful helper at last.

The internal policy of Catherine, the constitutional, social and economic history of the reign, are also very noteworthy. The Legislative Commission of 1766, producing by the way some truly remarkable suggestions of (or towards) serf emancipation, failed to accomplish its full official task, a new codification of the laws of Russia. Yet it was an extraordinary enterprise and a most suggestive national gathering. Its work had been preceded by the Church legislation of 1764, one of the most remarkable measures of the empress and her statesmen. Where Peter III had failed his tactful, brilliant, popular and ever fortu-

A STREET IN MOSCOW WHEN CATHERINE RULED THE EMPIRE

There is a remarkable juxtaposition of primitive with highly developed architecture in the Moscow of Catherine's day, as shown in a contemporary engraving by Ducfeldt. In the left foreground are a drinking booth and a police station—mere log cabins appropriate to a pioneer's forest. Yet opposite these, and higher up the spacious if roughly paved roadway, are stately mansions with Palladian façades, that would be an ornament to any modern capital, and ornate cupolas and spires.

*From Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*

nate wife, with remarkable ease and celerity, won another of her spectacular successes. She was aided by the immense growth of laicism and intellectual liberalism, the immense decline in religious fervor, in the educated world of the eighteenth century. What Peter the Great had desired, she did—and effected without revolution or serious disturbance. Through the work of her 'Mixed Commission'—lay and clerical—on these matters ecclesiastical, she succeeded in reasserting the state rights upon the Church lands and the Church peasantry.

**BARBARISM SUCH AS CATHERINE STROVE AGAINST**

In 1768 Catherine appointed Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), a German scientist, to a professorship in the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, and later sent him on an extended journey through the empire; afterwards he settled in the Crimea. His published narratives were illustrated with colored plates drawn, like this one, on the spot by G. Geissler, who accompanied him.

Not to be forgotten (among other administrative measures of the reign) are the fresh and permanent division of European Russia into the famous Fifty Governments, the complete practical absorption of Little Russia, the creation and organization of the New South Russia in freshly won territories north of the Euxine, the sweeping changes in the status and even in the geography of the Cossack world. And from this as well as from other points of view the colonizing measures of the Catherine age are as interesting as any. On one side they recall methods and measures of ancient Roman policy. On another side, by their frequent use of German immigration, and that on a great scale (to teach and elevate the native Russian peasantry, and to give a new start to ambitions developments of civilization in the vast empty spaces of the south and south-east), they have a peculiar and temporary modern Russian character—suitable only to the tsardom of the eighteenth century.

As a literary and scholarly epoch, as an Augustan Age, the reign of Catherine marked a new period in Russian history. However artificial and un-Russian we may now think much of the literature of her time, at the moment it seemed to make a more brilliant show, as literature, than the country had yet seen in the modern centuries. Much of its best performance, though by native Russians, was in French. For admiration, imitation, idolatry of French writers, genius and culture were notes of Catherine's court and Catherine's age. Yet there were the beginnings of a thoroughly national drama.

In other important fields, as in the poetry of nature and of patriotic triumph, there is genuine and vigorous native production. And, once more, in learning (though here again immense use was made of foreign energy and talent) Russia under Catherine made really astonishing efforts to wipe out the reproaches of barbarism and ignorance. Is not the work of Pallas the German, by itself, good evidence of this?

# THE GERMANY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## AN AWAKENING OF LITERATURE ART AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AFTER THE DEPRESSION THAT FOLLOWED THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

W. HARBUTT DAWSON, Hon. D. Phil.

*Author of 'The Evolution of Modern Germany,' 'German Life in Town and Country,' 'A History of Germany,' etc.*

The opening of the eighteenth century found Germany still under the receding shadow of the Thirty Years' War. Many years had passed since the restoration of peace, but the devastating effects of the struggle, in which a large part of western Europe had been engaged, with Germany as its cockpit, were visible in many directions. The war had left the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation further weakened and demoralized, and had confirmed the ascendancy of France. Politically, Germany was still a heterogeneous structure made up of some three hundred sovereignties of all sorts and sizes—a kingdom, electorates, duchies, principalities ecclesiastical and secular, and a host of free cities. The ties which united the federated territories and tribes were of the frailest, for a unifying sentiment of attachment either to the Empire or to each other was wanting.

While the country was thus rent by tribal divisions the orders within the various territories—the papal hierarchy, the nobles, the burghers and the peasantry—were similarly alienated from each other, and social life presented a spectacle of privilege and arrogance on the one hand and impotence and humiliation on the other.

In most states the system of government which prevailed was an undisguised autocracy, seldom of a benevolent kind. The arbitrary word of the "Landesherr" was law; representative chambers did not exist, and where the ruler called councillors to his side they were expected to be the echoes of his voice and the instruments of his will. German rulers were still able to sell their subjects into the armies of foreign princes.

In general, the life and manners of the time were harsh and rude, and the war had left behind a spirit of lawlessness amongst people who had so long been familarized with violence and bloodshed. Nevertheless, there appears to have been less hard drinking amongst the men than of old. A Saxon cookery book published early in the century attested the fact with satisfaction, and recommended yet greater abstinence and the use of tea and coffee. For these innocuous drinks, with cocoa and chocolate, had already been introduced from France, and the coffee-house, borrowed from England, was making its appearance as an alternative to the beer room. Later came the open-air coffee-garden, which enjoyed poularity down to our own day. Coffee, indeed, has been a national beverage ever since, while tea cannot be said to have really captured German taste until quite recent times.

At that time the culture of polite society was altogether French. Social customs, manners, etiquette, standards of taste and conduct—the entire code of social life and relations was French, and French, or a medley of German and French, was the medium of polite intercourse both in conversation and correspondence.

Amongst the noble and well-born a debased form of the chivalry of the troubadour days, again borrowed from France, was cultivated. It was called "galanterie," and nominally meant homage to the fair sex; but it was superficial and unreal, and, beginning in looseness of thought, it developed into looseness of conduct and morals. The "galant" man had his counterpart in the "galante" woman, who often surpassed him in freedom, frivolity and excess. Manners were in a very fluid

state when rules of taste had to be taught like the game of piquet or the latest waltz; there were formal manuals that explained the whole art of gallantry, and how compliments should and should not be paid. Like all resources of amusement the theatre also was French, in that it gave its patrons French plays or German plays in French form.

The burgher or middle class of the towns, which before the war had gained a position of influence and comparative affluence, had been impoverished, while the military and official classes had been strengthened. The most fortunate of towns retained but a fraction of their old prosperity, and many had become little more than monuments of desolation. In the open country the peasantry, subject to arbitrary oppression by the great landowners, had fallen into a condition of dependence not far removed from serfdom.

Both commerce and agriculture had since made partial recovery, though the prevalent mercantilistic policy pursued by the rulers, with its monopolies and privileges, oppressive import and export taxes and trade prohibitions, had checked the rate of progress. Moreover, the restrictions of an obsolete guild system and the local regulations in restraint of trade and industry in the large towns further discouraged enterprising individuals from developing new industries.

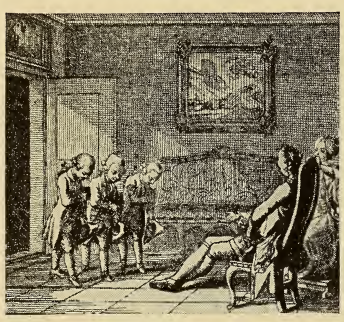
**'BLINDMAN'S BUFF' IN A GERMAN GARDEN**

Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801), German painter and engraver, concentrated upon representing the actual life and manners of his time much as Hogarth did in England. Many of his pictures, notably this 'Blindman's Buff,' painted in 1768, thus have a double interest, exemplifying at once the pleasure now newly being taken by Germans in beauties of Nature and alfresco amusements, and also the extent to which French influence was affecting German life and art.

*State Museum, Berlin; photo, Brückmann*

FURTHER, the war had held back the intellectual life of the country, and a time of literary sterility followed. Science and learning continued under the narrowing influence of theology and the Church. The profession of letters took its cue from France and Italy, and popular literature had practically disappeared.

Although the wars of the two preceding centuries had been fought, in the main, over religious issues, they had not given peace to the rival Churches, and the theological schools still contended with the old fervour over new dogmas and differences. Nevertheless, one of the most powerful influences of the period, softening the popular temper, was the



A LESSON IN MANNERS

Johann Georg Basedow (1723-90) published his 'Elementarwerk' in 1774, setting forth in text and pictures his system of primary education. Essentially, it aimed at bringing children into contact with realities instead of mere words.

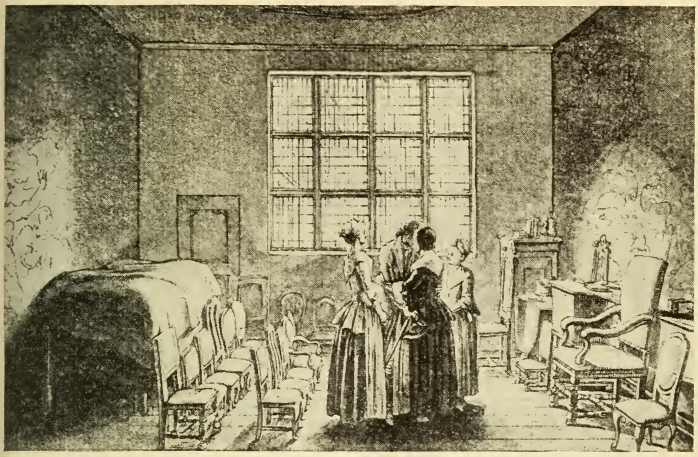
religious revival which took the form of Pietism. This movement originated in North Germany late in the seventeenth century, attained its meridian in the middle of the following century, and exercised upon the thought and life of large sections of the population an influence similar in kind and depth to that of Puritanism and the later Methodism in England.

WHILE there was progress in other directions the eighteenth century in Germany was in a special sense a period of intense intellectual activity, taking the form of alternate advance and reaction, and at times of rebellion; and literature reflected the changing moods as in a mirror. A natural reaction against the restraints which had long narrowed the people's thought and obscured its outlook proved the precursor of the remarkable movement which goes by the name of the "Aufklärung" or Illumination. The seeds of that far-spreading movement were sown by the rationalistic school of philosophers which sprang up in western Europe in the later part of the preceding century, and they found in Germany a fertile soil. While the Churches and confessions had been disputing and fighting, science had advanced with quiet but sure steps, and the study and the laboratory had come to look down with pitying condescension upon scholastic theology.

Even in theological circles a new school of thinkers had arisen which viewed with suspicion dogmas hitherto accepted as axiomatic. These men were intensely critical rather than negatively sceptical. They did not pretend to abolish the supernatural, but it received from them less emphasis than from the orthodox. Their conception of God was more that of the deist than the theist, and they rejected the idea of a personal Providence interfering in every detail of the life of the universe and Mankind. In general, spurning the forbidding orthodoxy of the Pietists, they viewed religion from the standpoint of utility and the happiness which it was able to confer upon its professors.

The critical spirit that was now abroad called into existence reformed universities like those of Halle (1694) and at a later date Göttingen (1737) and Erlangen (1743). The creation of the Halle university was specially significant, since it was the first German university to recognize the principle of freedom of opinion and of teaching.

The leader of the rationalistic school at Halle was the philosopher Christian Wolff (1679-1754), a disciple of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716). He taught a natural theology, and though, like Browning, he "believed in soul" and was "very sure of God," the ultra-orthodox among his university colleagues, and particularly the Pietist Francke, succeeded in compassing his downfall. Seventeen years later, on coming to the throne, Frederick II (the Great), who had already translated



MADE READY FOR THE KINDERGARTEN CLASS

Daniel Chodowiecki's mother kept a school for little children, and this sketch shows the simple arrangement that she deemed adequate for a class-room. This drawing was made in 1771, but already in 1763 legislation had been passed regulating the provision of schools and the course of instruction, and giving directions for the examination and supervision of teachers. In 1794 schools were made subject to the control of the state, without whose sanction none could be established.

*From Chodowiecki, 'Danziger Reise'*

one of Wolff's books into French, recalled him to Halle with honors, while the elector of Bavaria raised him to the nobility. In the meantime other universities had imbibed the same convulsive spirit, giving greater prominence to modern philosophy and science and encouraging free inquiry and research. Academies and scientific societies were also formed, and scientific treatises and magazines became common in educated circles.

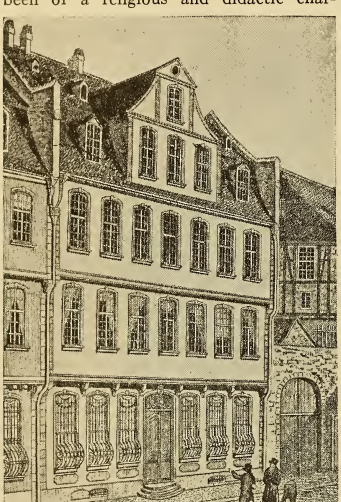
Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), the profound philosopher who made the university of Königsberg famous for all time, may be said to have given its crown to the Illumination movement. He defined the Aufklärung as the advance of Man beyond the state of voluntary immaturity —in other words, of a willing intellectual dependence upon others.

It seemed as though at that time a second Renaissance had come to the German people. Classical antiquity, its culture and achievements in the arts, sciences and letters, were now studied not simply for the sake of learning and as an intellectual discipline, but for the sake of the light which they threw upon modern life and its problems. Further, by uniting the distant centuries with the present in an unbroken chain of development, the researches of achaeology gave to the history of civilization a profounder meaning.

Another notable result of the intellectual awakening was a revolt against foreign influences. Germans began to ask themselves why, if the French and Italians, the English and Dutch, could speak and write in their own languages, they should not do likewise. German now became the language of science side by side with Latin, which was soon to be superseded altogether as a written language. A distinctly national current in literature now set in.

An important side of the evangelistic work of the Illuminists was their enthusiastic effort to bring knowledge within reach of the masses of the people,

hitherto out of touch with letters. The Germans may be said to have become a reading people in the eighteenth century. Hitherto reading had been, in the main, the pursuit of the professed scholar. Most of the books which had entered the homes of the burgher and peasant classes had been of a religious and didactic char-



GOETHE'S BIRTHPLACE

This engraving shows the house at Frankfort-on-Main where Goethe was born in 1749. It was his home until 1775, when he moved at Duke Karl August's invitation to Weimar, where he lived until his death.

*Könnecke, 'Bilderatlas der Deutschen Nationallitteratur'*

acter—Bibles, prayer-books, theological treatises, sermons and general works of edification—and belles-lettres and fiction had been altogether beyond the ken of the so-called common people.

In this work of extending popular knowledge England was able to give a helping hand. From the second decade of the century many translations and imitations of English moral books and publications of the serial kind were published. On the other hand, in the more educated circles the early "Tatler," "Spectator," "Guardian" and "Examiner," immortalized by the names of Pope, Addison, Steele and Swift, implanted seeds in fertile German soil which quickly produced flower and fruit.

The first German publication of the magazine class dates from the end of the seventeenth century, but now a constant stream of popular literature of this kind poured from the press of the capitals and the great centers of the publishing trade. Not only literary hacks of the Grub Street order, but famous scholars—poets, essayists and scientists—contributed to this literary output.

In the middle of the century there was a revival of interest in the German songs and legends of the Middle Ages. The English ballad literature of that time aroused great interest in Germany, and led Herder, Gottfried August Bürger (1748-94), for more than half a century the favorite poet of the masses, and still greater men to be named later, to enter the same field.

Another type of literature which became very popular was that represented by the fables and stories of Baron von Hagedorn (1708-57), Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715-69) and Johann Gottfried Schnabel; the last wrote an ingenious work of imagination of the "Robinson Crusoe" type called "The Island of Felsenburg." For the first time books and other literature for the young were given a place in the publishers' lists.

The literature of the second half of the century also gave prominence to contemplation, feeling and sentiment. Again English influences were at work.

The same period saw the appearance in Germany of the novel in the modern sense. Here, again, impulses had come from across the North Sea. Some of the stories of Daniel Defoe were well-known, and the novels of Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), Henry Fielding (1707-54) and Tobias Smollett (1721-71) circulated largely both in the originals and in translations.

A host of nature and travel books of a descriptive kind likewise appeared in those years.

Now, the beauties and sublimities of natural scenery appealed to others besides the painter and the poet. Ordinary German folk began to travel for

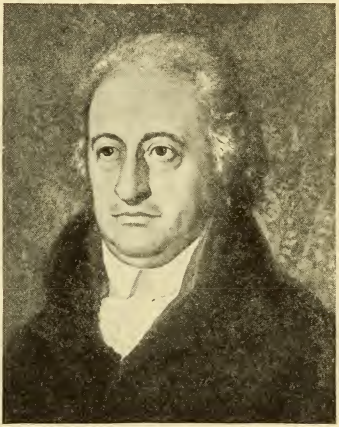
pleasure as well as for business, and to find hitherto unsuspected charm in the Black Forest, Thuringia, the Harz Mountains and other beauty spots of their own land. Altogether there was far more outside life and amusement of every kind. Pictures of the time show groups of children reclining in shady bowers or rambling in lovely gardens, and fine ladies and gentlemen playing blindman's buff (Blindekuhspiel) and battledore and shuttlecock (Federballspiel) in field and woodland glade on summer days. Outdoor private theatricals were popular in court. society; pastoral plays and Singspiele, or musical plays, were written by Goethe specially for the open-air stages which were constructed for the purpose at the Duke of Weimar's summer residences.

Rural life also began to have new attractions, and people revised their ideas of gardens, putting into them less art and more feeling, less symmetry and more soul.

This widened interest in Nature was reflected in the art of the time. A school of painters arose who went back to Nature for inspiration. They painted real German landscapes instead of the bowers and flowers of the Elysian fields; real German hills and mountains instead of speculative vistas of Parnassus and the mountains of the moon; and put into their canvases real German herdsmen and milkmaids, wearing coarse homespun, instead of nymphs and dryads wearing hooped petticoats or nothing at all.

The naturalism of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) naturally found receptive minds in Germany. His varied writings were everywhere received with great enthusiasm, and left an enduring mark upon German thought and literature. Before the appearance of "Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse" (1760) and "Emile" (1762) German thinkers were writing of natural religion, of natural piety, and even of natural education. They held Man to be "naturally" good and inclined to virtue; all that was supposed to be necessary to his happiness was to develop the healthy instincts already implanted in his soul.

Midway in the century new rules and methods of pedagogics, based on "natural" principles, were expounded and applied by Johann Georg Basedow (1723-90), and these were later carried further by Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), Christian Heinrich Salzmann (1744-1811), and others. Basedow laid emphasis upon physical exercises out of doors—riding, dancing, running, swimming and skating according to the seasons—all with the object of hardening growing youth and driving away ill humors. Great importance was attached to "object teaching," by means of pictures and Nature walks. Campe used to take his



GOETHE, POET AND SEER

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the grandest figure in German literature and one of the world's indubitable 'great men,' is shown here in a portrait painted in 1806 by F. Jagemann.

*Photo, Brückmann*

pupils into the field and forest, and then, having worked himself into the right mood, he bade them fall on their knees with him in prayer to the Deity.

Whatever may have been the success of such methods of education, however, the rulers were in no mood to hand over to idealists the control of this domain. The second half of the century gave a strong impulse to the state school system in Germany. The old Latin or classical schools were continued, though with less pedantry in the methods of teaching; greater attention was given to German; French was taught more systematically; and a new class of modern higher schools

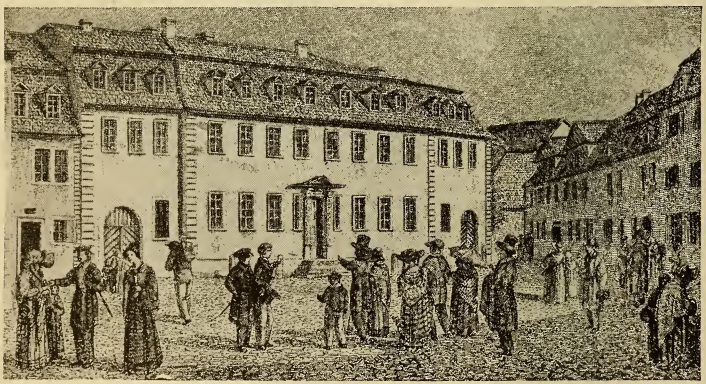
was created in the special interest of the sons of the burgher class. From this time also date most of the systems of popular or elementary schools (Volksschulen) which, with modifications, were later to become so important a feature of the German educational system.

In the meantime the universities had further multiplied. At the end of the seventeenth century they had fallen somewhat in repute, but during the succeeding century they had fully retrieved their position and had become again the honored patrons and custodians of intellectual life. It would appear, however, that the manners and morals of academic youth still left much room for improvement, though the smaller universities appear to have been more boisterous than the large.

THE full fruition of the Illumination came in the classical epoch of German literature, which took most definite shape after the middle of the century, and to which belong some of the immortals, two of the earlier among them being Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803) and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81), to whom may be added Christopher Martin Wieland (1733-1813). These men, turning away from foreign influences and eschewing mere imitation, laid the foundations of a genuine national poetry.

Wieland made the first German translations of Shakespeare, and did much to popularize in Germany the English school of fiction represented by Richardson and Fielding. The reform movement in literature so begun was carried further by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) and, above all, by that many-sided genius Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832). The last quarter of their century marked the halcyon period of German literature; nothing like it had gone before and nothing comparable to it has followed. It was mainly due to the influence of Goethe and Schiller that the drama was raised to a position of dignity and honor it had never enjoyed hitherto in Germany.

GREAT as was the genius of Goethe and Schiller, the distinction of being the founder of the German national drama belongs to Lessing. His domestic play "Miss Sara Simpson," published in 1755, which reads like an adaptation of Richardson's "Clarissa Harlowe" (1745), may



STREET SCENE IN THE WEIMAR OF KARL AUGUST

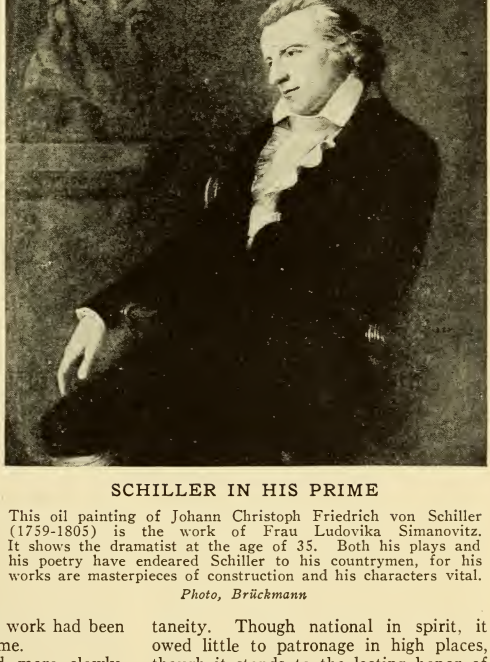
Memories of Goethe and Schiller, whose genius flourished in the golden age of literature under Karl August are intimately associated with Weimar, where both spent many years under the patronage of its duke. This street scene, drawn by Otto Wagner in 1827 and engraved by L. Schütze, is laid outside the house which Karl August presented to Goethe in 1792. It gives an excellent idea of the cleanliness and order obtaining at the time in a German city street.

sound stilted in modern ears, yet it was the first important step in the emancipation of the drama from foreign influence. With that play and his tragedy "Emilia Galotti," written in 1758 but first published in 1772, an altogether new type of drama was introduced to the German public—the drama of burgher and domestic life. In the interval had appeared his "Minna von Barnhelm" (1765), a thoroughly North German national comedy, which Goethe hailed as the most genuine product of the Seven Years' War, and the first German drama founded upon important events of actual contemporary life.

So for a time the exotic play was virtually banished from the stage, and its place taken by historical and classical plays and realistic dramas of social and family life. The climax of this movement was reached in the closing years of the century, by which time Goethe and Schiller had raised the German drama to its loftiest height. Schiller did not long survive the century, but Goethe, the most brilliant figure in the movement, and the greatest intellectual adornment of his race and country, lived until 1832, though his maturest work had been done years before that time.

Opera was nationalized more slowly. As early as the last quarter of the seventeenth century attempts were made to introduce an independent national opera in Hamburg, but French and Italian traditions were too strong, and they failed. The most famous German composers of opera in the succeeding century, Handel (1685-1759), Gluck (1714-87) and Mozart (1756-91), must all be counted to the Italian school. In the sphere of pure harmony the noblest expression of the German spirit must be sought in that century in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), much of whose music fathomed the profoundest depths and soared to the loftiest heights of human feeling.

Not the least noteworthy characteristic of this literary movement was its spontaneity. Though national in spirit, it owed little to patronage in high places, though it stands to the lasting honor of Karl August of Saxe-Weimar that men like Goethe, Schiller, Wieland and Herder owed much to his encouragement and practical assistance.

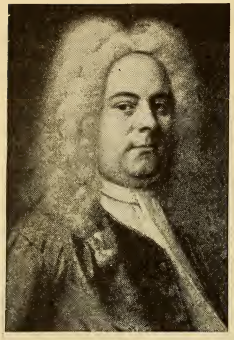


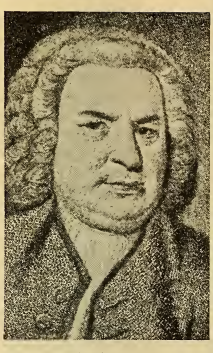
SCHILLER IN HIS PRIME

This oil painting of Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) is the work of Frau Ludovika Simanovitz. It shows the dramatist at the age of 35. Both his plays and his poetry have endeared Schiller to his countrymen, for his works are masterpieces of construction and his characters vital.

*Photo, Brückmann*

Nowhere were literature and its craftsmen more disregarded in courtly circles than in Prussia under Frederick the Great. Those were lean days for literature, when neither publishers nor public spoiled the writer's profession. Only men of mark in academic circles or in science could





THREE GREAT MASTERS OF GERMAN MUSIC

George Frederick Handel (left), here limned by B. Denner, and John Sebastian Bach (right) are supreme as composers of music inspired by and consecrated to the service of religion. Handel perfected the oratorio, Bach the chorale, the mass and music of the Passion. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (center)—the portrait is by Jos. Lange—established himself in the front rank of opera composers with his imperishable 'Le Nozze di Figaro,' 'Don Giovanni' and 'Die Zauberflöte.'

*National Portrait Gallery, London; Mozartmuseum, Salzburg; and from Erdmannsdörffer, 'Deutsche Geschichte'*

count on adequate returns, while unknown authors and the smaller fry had to be satisfied if their lucubrations were put into print without cost to themselves, and they were positively in luck if they received a nominal payment in kind, in the form of other men's books. It was not different with art.

To the second half of the century fell a further remarkable literary movement known as the "Sturm und Drang" or Storm and Stress. It was an outgrowth of the Illumination, the offspring of an age of unrest and protest, and it ran its furious course broadly between the years 1770 and 1785. The intellectual father of the movement was the versatile Johann Georg Hamann (1730-88), known as the Magus of the North; its name was supplied by Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger (1752-1801), the dramatist and novelist ("Strum und Drang" is the title of one of his dramas); Herder nursed it, and Goethe and Schiller were its most distinguished sponsors.

It was a movement of youth—that time of indomitable courage and faith, of daring adventures and superb illusions. Essentially, it was a collision between two generations and the conceptions of literary art and of life which they represented.

Although modernists and realists at heart, the men of the Storm and Stress school accepted the classical conception of life as a unity. They held that the true art of living was to live completely and, above all, intensely. Man must live and think and act as a whole and as himself: all the faculties of his nature, spiritual, mental and physical, must be given full expression. Because it was subjective, the movement emphasized the value of free personality and intellectual independence. To copy is human, to create is divine: hence originality should be cultivated at all costs.

The spirit of rebellion was at the heart of the movement—rebellion against the restraint of individuality, against the grinding uniformity of systems, harassing rules, conventions and traditions. The writers of the Storm and Stress put aside the stilted periods and artificiality which had come with the era of French influence, and cultivated what was called "naturalness." Above all, a strong patriotic impulse was behind the movement.

The universities were the nurseries of the movement, but it is to the contemporary drama that we must look for its most vigorous expression. Of the

many Storm and Stress dramas Goethe's historical play "Götz von Berlichingen," and Schiller's revolutionary outburst "Die Räuber" ("The Robbers"), which appeared in 1773 and 1781 respectively, most faithfully mirrored the heat and ferment of the time.

After a flush of elation and the rush of passion the muse passed again into a severer atmosphere, and the Augustan epoch of German literature opened. The greatest and most enduring work of both Goethe and Schiller came after "Götz" and "The Robbers" had ceased to enthral the imaginations of their admirers.

Before the Storm and Stress movement was exhausted, however, it had led to a flood of hyper-sentimentality. There had been an anticipation of this in Goethe's first novel, "Die Leiden des jungen Werther" ("The Sorrows of Young Werther"), written early in 1774. Its appearance was the signal for an unexampled exhibition in literature and social intercourse of mawkish sentimentality and effeminacy. Highly strung young men and ecstatic young women, addressing each other as "souls," descanted in meaningless phrases upon "soul intimacies."

NORMAL reticences of friendly intercourse were discarded, and people who had never met, and were but names to each other, exchanged letters in which they laid bare their inmost thoughts and feelings with indecorous freedom. Though in due course the aberration died out in intelligent society, it long influenced popular literature. Sentimental novels and stories poured from the press, and the tragic muse enjoyed an unequalled popularity.

Just as after the Storm and Stress period the overflowing literary current of subjectivism, with its violent emotions and temperamental extravagances, fell back into the walled channel of the classical movement, so art and architecture, after having had their fling in the caprice and excess of Baroque and Rococo, returned similarly to an ordered and tranquil course.

In the middle of the century Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68) had written his great critical work on art, in which he had taught that art could be great only in so far as it aimed at beauty of form and figure, and accepted as absolute the forms and types presented by the art of antiquity, and he now became regarded as an infallible guide. Even Goethe returned from his Italian travels of 1786-88 convinced that true art consisted in following the great Greek exemplars, and that German art was on the wrong track and, until reformed, would achieve nothing great and enduring.

LOTTE SCHILLER

Schiller married Charlotte von Lengefeld (1766-1826) in 1790. The dramatist was attracted by her charm and her intellect, which are revealed in this oil painting of her, executed by Frau Ludovika Simanovitz, four years after the marriage.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

Much of the work of Anton Graff (1736-1813), A. A. Carstens (1754-98) and D. B. Chodowiecki (1726-1801) illustrates the return to classical traditions in art.

This survey would be incomplete without an attempt to picture in broad outlines the social life of the later part of the 18th century. In the higher circles French culture and fashion were still in the ascendant. Still the scores of rulers, big and little, continued to persuade themselves that their courts were miniature Versailles, dispensing patronage and favor with regal hand to their crowds of functionaries and hangers-on. The pomp and state of the courts found ready imitation in the mansions of the greater nobles.

Even their country châteaux were often run on palatial lines, and not a few old aristocratic families dated the decline of their fortunes from this absurd mimicry of their superiors in wealth and social station.

As a whole, the territorial nobles who lived on their estates led a dull and empty existence, for there was little to do in the country districts except for the isolated administrative officials. Those who found the monotony and meanness of rural surroundings intolerable sought to attach themselves to the court. In some states every public position worth having was occupied by the petty nobility, and even aristocratic collectors of taxes and postmasters were common.

**FAMOUS ART CRITIC**

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68), shown in this portrait by Angelica Kauffman at the age of 47, believed that the true end of art is beauty. As an expositor of the principles of ancient art he won widespread recognition.

*From Könnecke, 'Bilderatlas'*

All accounts agree that the current superficial culture covered much licence. Morality was at a low ebb in high places. Amongst men, wine, women and play were causes of much domestic disharmony and misfortune; the marriage tie had lost its respect; divorces were numerous and easily arranged; the old-fashioned piety was tabooed as out of date; reverence had decayed, and to cast smart gibes at sacred things passed for wit. In the leisured circles generally the women appear to have had what would be called today a "good time." Small care was wasted by fashionable dames on domestic matters, and still less on maternal duties.

Entertainment, amusement and social intercourse were cultivated by clubs, casinos and more or less private and exclusive circles variously known as "Harmonien," "Sozietäten," and "Ressources," and what were already known as "thés dansants" were common. To these assemblies went well-born ladies, wearing high coiffures above their powdered faces, and gallant men, not insensible to the delicate frou-frou of dainty dresses and the seduction of insinuating French scents. Congenial couples played chess, draughts and piquet for honor; but there was also card-playing for stakes, the interest in which was shown not only by young people but by parchment-faced dames of the old school who had never broken off the habit of taking snuff. In the residences of the ruling houses the permanent theater had made its appearance, but in general the dramatic needs of the people were supplied by visiting companies.

In well-to-do households tutors were engaged to give instruction to the children of both sexes. In fashionable society knowledge of French, and particularly of French ways and etiquette, was the essential part of a young lady's education. What German girls of that type had not to learn was how to speak and write their native language. So there came into vogue in the families of the well-to-do the French "gouvernantes," who often put the tutors out of their jobs.

Light is thrown upon the intellectual quality of social converse in fashionable circles by a frank letter in which Caroline von Beulwitz, Schiller's sister-in-law, criticizes two ladies of the Weimar court—one her own "chère mère" and the other Frau von Stein.

Writing to Schiller of a visit she intended to make in 1789, she says:

"The company of the two women is very empty, and there is no question of any development of ideas with them, for their ideas revolve altogether round the circle of ordinary life, and they make petty things important, so that time becomes tedious to me. The tissue of coquetry, rivalry and paltriness which is displayed by their stories gives me an unpleasant foretaste of my stay there."

Schiller himself, when he took a professorship at Jena in order that he might marry, found its society uncongenial. The town was "full of pedantry and petty intrigue," and its mental atmosphere palled on him.

If such things could be said of towns which should have been centers of light and leading, it was hardly surprising that life elsewhere was apt to follow a narrow and more or less mechanical routine, though in social intercourse there was much formality. This was particularly the case in relation to ceremonies connected with domestic episodes like betrothals, marriages and funerals, for which even now German men dress as for the opera. The attitude of well-mannered men towards their lady friends was effusively "gallant," and at meeting and parting the fair one's hand was invariably kissed to the accompaniment of a complimentary phrase.

The relationship between parents and children was cordial, yet not without a certain stiffness, which accorded with a strict compliance with the fourth commandment as sternly emphasized by Dr. Martin Luther. On the other hand, when left to themselves, young people of different sex associated with less restraint than a later age approved, and in rural districts this freedom often degenerated into licence.

In general, however, intercourse in the towns was restricted to the family circle, and public balls and parties of the modern kind were as yet unknown. Marriages were usually arranged by the parents, and in nuptial contracts practical considerations weighed heavily. Girls of the solid burgher class were expected to bring with them ample trousseaux and solid dowries; paternal or maternal money was exchanged readily for the prospect of assuring to them a reasonably secure future. Many matches were hard business bargains in which the betrothed had no say whatever. On the whole the girls of the household counted little as compared with the boys, and, where private tutors were not engaged, their education was sadly neglected.

Side by side with extravagance, indulgence and frivolity, however, there was much plain living and clean thinking. In many burgher homes simplicity still went with solidity, industry with frugality, and orderliness with piety. In such homes the fathers set their sons an example of diligence and sobriety which was seldom lost on them. Mothers and daughters shared the daily work of the house, and

CHODOWIECKI THE ARTIST

The engravings of Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki (1726-1801) are invaluable for the light they throw on the social life of eighteenth-century Germany. Here we see the man himself, engagingly represented in a portrait by Anton Graff, sometimes styled the Van Dyck of Germany. The childlike simplicity that was one of his notable attributes is well suggested.

*Akademie der Künste, Berlin; photo, Brückmann*

when that was done there was for both a choice between spinning and weaving, knitting and tambour work, for no idle hands were allowed. There was dancing for relaxation, but in such middle class homes it took a secondary place.

Still more did the conservative and slow-going rural population hold in balance the people's life, preserve wholesome if old-fashioned ideals, and keep the heart of the commonwealth healthy at a restless and transitional time. The life of the peasantry in general, narrow, crude and hard though it was, retained a vigor and constancy that gave promise of better things. The general level of countryside morality may not have been faithfully reflected by the fact that there was little open neglect of the externals of religious practice; yet the church continued to be the center of local life, and the pastor was a real social power.

A FRIENDLY GAME

As in Johnson's England so in contemporary Germany social intercourse was much cultivated in clubs and casinos. This charming silhouette at Schloss Kochberg showing a chess match illustrates the interest taken in indoor games.

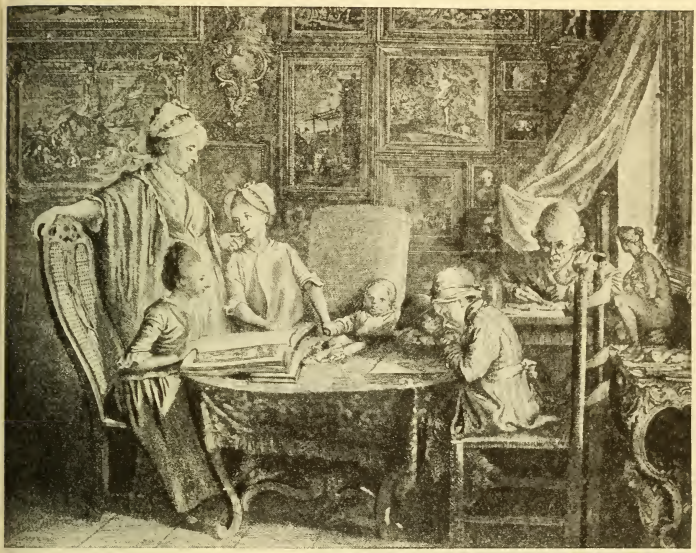
*From W. Bode, 'Charlotte von Stein'*

Gustav Freytag has drawn a picture of a typical old German town of medium size about the middle of the eighteenth century, and with but little modification it would apply equally for some decades later. The old brick walls still remained with their bastions and angles, and their towers over the gates; some of the towers were dilapidated by age or had been wrecked in the wars, but the others were still strong enough to serve when wanted as lock-ups. The moat outside, no longer used, had dried up and given place to grass on which

FASHIONABLE SILHOUETTES IN GOETHE'S GERMANY

A silhouette illustrating Lavater's 'Essai sur la Physiognomie' in 1783 shows (left) Goethe with Fritz von Stein. Right: the grand duchess Anna Amalia seated in Weimar park, with her ladies in attendance. This parade of feminine fashion shows the exaggerated waists and hooped petticoats then popular, and one lady is wearing a hat crowned with monstrous feathers.

*From Könnecke, 'Bilderatlas,' and Ruland, 'Goethe National Museum'*



THE CHODOWIECKI FAMILY AT HOME

The artist Daniel Chodowiecki himself drew this picture of his wife and family in 1771. The wealth of minute detail it contains is valuable as showing the type of interior decoration favored by a man of moderate means—though we must remember that it is an artist's room, which may explain the crowded pictures and statuary mounted on fantastically-carved brackets. The chairs, however, are more simple in structure, this being indicative of the gradually increasing fashion for less elaborate furniture.

cattle grazed, children played, or cloth weavers stretched their fabrics.

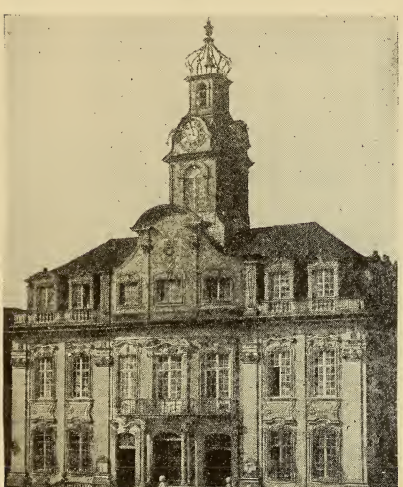
The town gates were plain but massive timber structures, which were locked every night by the official watchman, whom late-comers seeking entrance had to waken by knocker and bell. Within the town a more tasteful type of house had arisen, and here and there a coffee-garden, with shady trees and simple benches, might be seen. Near the market-place the houses were of a more imposing character; many of them had high gables, and among them were fine old churches or forsaken monastic buildings. Upon the market-place rose the town hall, the most important of its rooms being the council chamber, cold and inhospitable, and only redeemed by the green upholstered chairs of the aldermen.

If few towns could claim as yet to be handsome, at least their administration was more efficient; even the sanitary arrangements, though far from satisfactory, were slowly improving. Smallpox, typhoid and tuberculosis slew their thousands, yet the idea that cleanliness in person, home and surroundings had a serious bearing on health, and that these diseases were largely preventible, seldom occurred to the people.

By day the life of the streets was busier than of old, but much of its picturesqueness remained. The costume of the peasantry made a brave show on market days; oxen dragged over the cobbles the old lumbering wagons which brought in farm produce from the surrounding villages; and once or twice a week a post coach would rumble through the streets on its way from place to place. The

townsfolk missed, however, the round of merry festivals which were once the pride and delight of the handicraftsmen and made red-letter days in the year's dull annals.

The houses of the well-to-do patricians and the prosperous merchants stood apart in their substantial dignity both without and within. There was more external ornament, for the Baroque style of architecture was still in vogue; the doors, halls and passages were wider, the rooms and windows larger and higher, and decorated ceilings, silken or velvet wall coverings, heavy window hangings, massive candelabra and parquet floors were also hallmarks of wealth.



BAROQUE IN ITS PRIME

Baroque was the style most characteristic of German architecture throughout the eighteenth century. In its worst aspects it was all that is florid, but a restrained and pleasing example is this town hall at Schwäbisch Hall, built between 1730 and 1735.

*Photo, H. Linke*

Many such houses were museums of fine old furniture, artistic in design and rich in carving. Now, however, furniture of lighter structure had begun to take the place of the massive pieces which had been handed down in families from generation to generation.

Muslin was now largely used for draping windows; carpets and rugs were still rare; few pictures hung upon the walls; but one large mirror at least was certain to be found in every well-regulated living-room and salon. The furniture of the bedrooms was restricted to the irreducible minimum, the most prominent pieces being the heavy four-posters; while the glory of the kitchen was a brave array of shining utensils of copper, brass and pewter, invariably hung against the walls.

The homes of the simpler folk were severely plain and inexpensively equipped with only the indispensable articles, though in the importance which she attached to her metal kitchenware, her heavy carved coffers and her store of linen, no housewife of the humbler class fell far behind her richer neighbors. The floors were usually of bare wood, often planed and polished, and sand to absorb the dust was commonly sprinkled once a week in the vestibule and upon stairs and landings.

Down to the Seven Years' War (1756-63) certain class differences had been clearly marked by individuality of dress. During the war, however, many external distinctions of the kind disappeared, though peculiarities of costume still remained. In particular the learned classes—the lawyers, doctors and clergy—were distinguished from the rest of the citizens both by clothing and head-dress. The identity of the parson was never to be mistaken, for his gown and the peaked hat or round cap above a short wig bewrayed him.

A gentleman of circumstance wore by way of going-out dress a braided and gold- or silver-laced coat of fine material, with tight breeches, silk stockings and embroidered linen, and a peruke; while his lady, wearing a marvellous powdered coiffure, ambled about in stiff corsets, a hooped petticoat, or farthingale, and high-heeled boots. Even the plain burgher ventured into the open on Sundays and

COIFFURES OF GERMAN WOMEN

Hairdressing was a profitable occupation when fashion sponsored such coiffures as those worn by the ladies (center) drawn by Chodowiecki. That the style had also invaded the kitchen is clear from the artist's sketch of a servant girl (right) with hair well elevated beneath her cap. Goethe's sketch of his sister Cornelia (left) shows that she too conformed.

*From Könnecke, 'Bilderatlas,' Kaemmerer, 'Daniel Chodowiecki' and Cettingen, 'Chodowiecki'*

holy days in silken breeches and stockings. and he still wore a dignified wig.

Both sexes were alike in attaching inordinate importance to headdress. The long, flowing perukes of the men were giving place to smaller and lighter wigs, which stopped above the neck, ending with or without a pigtail; ladies, however, still wore elaborate coiffures, made up in all sorts of designs, which often towered six or eight inches above the crown of the head, sometimes tipped by small mob-caps of frilled lace and silk. Even servant girls, modest and well-disciplined though they were, at that time dressed their hair in style, and wore caps like their mistresses.

Here a word must be said on the subject of travelling. For journeys beyond walking distance people who did not ride horses had to rely upon an irregular service of lumbering post coaches, drawn at the rate of three or four miles an hour.

As a rule, coaches ran between important towns once in seven, ten or fourteen days, according to circumstances, though people of means could employ special vehicles at high rates. A much-broken run of about twenty-five English miles, representing ten hours of toilsome travelling, was the average distance covered in a day, though light coaches, if drawn by several horses, could do five miles an hour on occasion.

Letter and parcel transport between towns and villages near together was maintained by a more frequent vehicular service or by walking messengers. There was an official post, implemented in the same way, but the private carriers were often preferred, since in delivering letters they were not loath to wait on the doorsteps—or preferably in the kitchen—for the replies.

When we turn to the material employments of workaday folk signs of steady progress impress us. What is known as the Industrial Revolution came to Germany long after it had passed over England, but the second half of the century was for industry, commerce and agriculture alike a time of increasing prosperity. Towards this

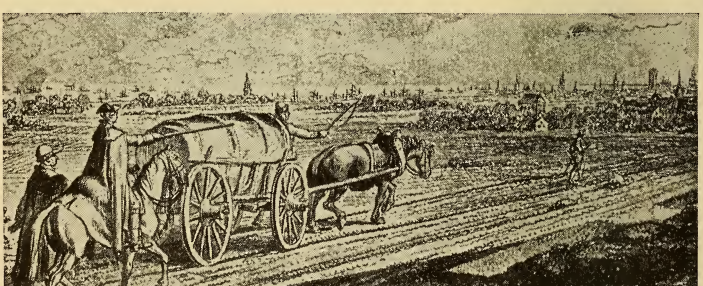
COSTUMES OF THE CLERGY

Daniel Chodowiecki's illustration to the 'Sebaldus Rothanker' of Nicolai in 1774 shows the clerical garb worn at that time. A parson could always be recognized by his gown and peaked cap or (left) round cap over a short wig.

progress the constant improvements made in transport, both by canals and roads, the abolition of restrictive laws, new discoveries and inventions, and the spread of education powerfully contributed.

Already manufacturing centers existed in northern Germany. The foreign trade which had languished during the Frederician wars had been gradually recovered, and commerce was becoming increasingly cosmopolitan. To agriculture likewise a great revival came in the second half of the century. Many enlightened measures and new departures contributed to it—the adoption of better methods of cultivation, the introduction of new plants, a large increase of the land under the potato; the improvement of the breeds of cattle, sheep and horses, improvements in vine and tobacco cultivation, the formation of agricultural societies and the dissemination of scientific knowledge by means of magazines. Further, serfdom was abolished in some of the states; and here and there the laws and customs relating to the division of estates were relaxed.

In the political life of the country the outstanding facts at the end of the century were the wonderful advance of Prussia and the growing menace offered by that vigorous state to the declining power of Austria. When military pressure came from the west, however, Prussia had to bear a strain beyond her power of resistance. With her collapse, and the defection of some of her confederates, Germany fell to pieces. A time of untold humiliation and misery awaited the German tribes, whether they fought Napoleon or for him, yet the ordeal was a preparation for the national unity towards which events had been tending for centuries.



CHODOWIECKI ON THE WAY FROM BERLIN TO DANZIG

When five miles an hour was regarded as a racing speed for a light coach drawn by several horses, it was only natural that travellers, especially male travellers, should prefer to make their journeys on horseback. It was so that Daniel Chodowiecki made his return to Danzig in 1773, and above is a picture drawn by himself of himself coming within sight of his native town. The picture gives a vivid impression of the miserable condition of roads even near so busy a commercial center as Danzig.

# TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXVIII

A.D.

1764 Catherine secures Polish succession for her favorite Stanislaus Poniatowski.
Suppression of Jesuits in France.
Hargreaves invents spinning jenny.
India: British ascendancy in Bengal finally established by battle of Baksar.

1765 Francis I d.; Joseph II elected emperor, his brother Leopold taking Tuscany. Maria Teresa retains her crowns and supremacy.
Grenville's Stamp Act opens quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies.
Clive obtains from the Mogul for the East India Company the Diwani or official financial control of Bengal, placing the British position on a legalized footing.

1766 Lecszinski d.; Lorraine passes to France.
Chatham's second ministry formed, known as the Grafton ministry; his health breaks down.

1767 Carlos III suppresses Jesuits in Spain.
Charles Townshend imposes tea and other minor import taxes on American colonies.

1768 Turkey as liberator of Poland declares war on Russia in support of Polish insurgents.
France acquires Corsica from Genoa.

1769 Napoleon Bonaparte b. in Corsica.
Frederick II and Joseph II in conference.
James Watt's steam-engine patented.

1770 Choiseul having restored French navy is dismissed.
North's ministry of "King's Friends"; George holds ascendancy in parliament till 1782.
Frederick initiates conspiracy with Catherine and Joseph for partition of Poland.
Beethoven b.

1771 Maupeou's ministry; suppression of "parlements."
Acc. Gustavus III in Sweden.

1772 First partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria, a remnant remaining as Kingdom of Poland.
Gustavus III restores absolutism in Sweden.

1773 Pope Clement XIV suppresses Jesuit Order. It nevertheless survives.
"Boston tea-party."
North's Regulating Acts for controlling Indian administration of East India Company; the first experiment of the kind since Rome.

1774 Canada Act establishing Roman Catholicism in Canada.
Boston Port Act and other penal acts to bring American colonies to submission; colonists call a general "Continental Congress."
Warren Hastings first governor-general over British presidencies in India; with a council which can and does outvote him.
Russian treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji with Turkey.
Louis XV d.; acc. Louis XVI. Maurepas' ministry. Parlements recalled. Turgot finance minister.

1775-83 War of American Independence.

1775 Turgot's reforms.
American war opened by skirmish at Lexington. George Washington in command. B. of Bunker Hill. Unsuccessful invasion of Canada.

1776 Turgot dismissed; Necker finance minister.
American Declaration of Independence. British evacuate Boston and occupy New York.
Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations published.
English victories at Battles of Long Island and White Plains; Washington wins Battle of Trenton.

A.D.

1777 Washington victorious at Princeton; terrible winter at Valley Forge; Congress agrees on Articles of Confederation.
Joseph II claims Bavarian succession, arousing Frederick's antagonism.
British force surrenders at Saratoga; France resolves to enter the American War.

1778 French treaty with Americans; French fleet dominant in western seas.
Voltaire d.

1779 Spain comes into the war; opens three years' siege of Gibraltar. Indecisive military operations.
Bavarian question settled by treaty of Teschen.
American privateers distress British commerce; John Paul Jones captures the *Serapis*.

1780 Haider (Hyder) Ali of Mysore invades the Carnatic.
Maria Teresa d.; Joseph II rules alone.
Armed neutrality of North Sea powers; war declared between Great Britain and Holland.

1780 Rochambeau arrives and departs at Newport.

1781 Dutch fleet disabled by battle of Dogger Bank.
Cornwallis, blockaded by Washington and the French fleet at Yorktown, surrenders; ensuring American independence.
Joseph II allies with Catherine.
Resignation of Necker.
Kant's Critique published.

1782 Rodney's victory of The Saints over de Grasse restores British naval ascendancy. Spain takes Minorca; Gibraltar is relieved.
Fall of North's ministry ends George's supremacy in parliament. 'Grattan's Parliament" set up in Ireland.
Mysore treaty. Haider Ali d.; acc. Tippu Sahib.

1783 Treaty of Versailles ends war. American independence recognized. Migration of loyalists to Canada and New Brunswick.
Turkey cedes Crimea to Russia.
Seventeen years' ministry of William Pitt the younger begins.

1784 Pitt's India Act sets up dual control of British administration in India (ends 1858).

1785 Joseph's schemes of Hapsburg aggrandisement checked by French guarantee of the closed Scheldt to the Dutch, and by Frederick's League of Princes ("Fürstenbund").

1786 Cornwallis first governor-general under new Indian system.
Frederick II d.; acc. Frederick William II.

1787 Assembly of Notables; fall of Calonne; ministry of Brienne.

1787 American Constitutional Convention.

1788 Joseph joins Catherine in Turkish war; the campaigning goes favorably for Turks against Joseph, unfavorably against Russia.
Necker recalled; Parlement demands summoning of States-General for the first time since 1614.
India: Cornwallis begins administrative reconstruction.
Great Britain annexes Australia; first convict settlement.

1789 George Washington first president of the United States of America.
First ten amendments to the Constitution adopted as "Bill of Rights."
French States-General assembles May 5.

# THE AMERICAN COLONIES BECOME A NATION: 1763—1789

TWELVE years after England had gained the vast possessions of France in the New World, her thirteen original American colonies were in open revolt. In 1763 most of the citizens in these colonies had never dreamed of breaking off from the mother-country; why, then, were they fighting for independence in 1776?

The fundamental reasons for this change were in preparation long before 1763. Nearly all of the first settlers had been dissatisfied in one way or another with conditions at home and they had come to America with the clear-cut intention of establishing in the New World commonwealths which should differ radically from those in which they had been brought up. They had been not merely religious dissenters; they had dissented also from the political and economic conditions of the home country. The century and more which had elapsed since the days of the original settlement had heightened these differences in outlook between their descendants and their English kinsfolk.

So far as England was concerned, most of the colonies had been founded almost by accident, and England's troubles at home—struggles between king and parliament, and abroad with France, had kept her from ever working out a consistent policy in the days when the colonies were new and might have been more easily guided. England had no colonial experience to aid her, for no nation had had colonies to speak of since the days of Rome. More than this men's ideas had changed a great deal, and especially in England.

Throughout the colonial period there had been trouble between the colonies (some more than others) and the mother-country. Officials in England had not understood conditions in the New World. The colonists, on the other hand, had looked at matters solely from the standpoint of their advantage, and had made no attempt to appreciate the difficulties confronting the home government. One dispute followed another. The colonists complained of having their laws vetoed, of delay in acting on their petitions, of regulations interfering with their trade, and of insufficient concern for their special problems and dangers. England complained of disrespectful treatment of her officials, of smuggling, of quarreling among the colonies, and of their inability to coöperate with each other and with England in fighting French and Indians.

### The Gathering Storm

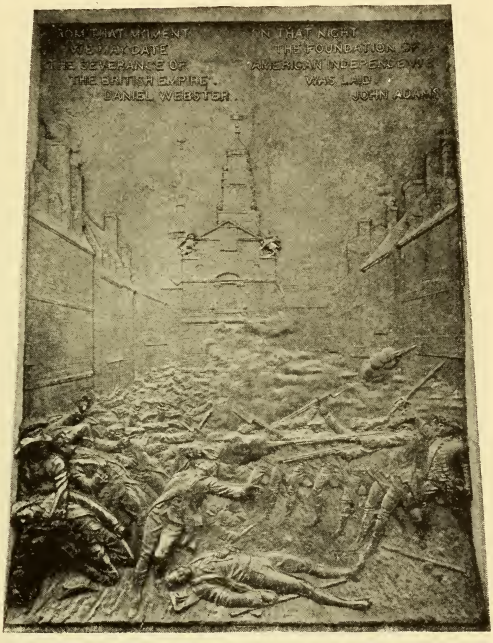
MANY events of greater or less importance had shown that a conflict was increasingly probable even before 1763. Great Britain had found the royal province type of government the easiest to manage, and gradually, by purchase or on charges of misgovernment, she had acquired the corporate and proprietary colonies. Down to 1679 there was only one royal province, Virginia; in 1763 there were eight. Moreover, in the five non-royal colonies which remained, the powers of the mother-country had been considerably increased; for instance, it was coming to be recognized that anyone who was dissatisfied with the decision of a colonial court had the right of appealing to England. Again, the trade and navigation acts were being constantly extended. It cannot be said that the enforcement of these acts was strict enough to work any great hardship, but the fact that they existed and for years had been generally ignored caused contempt for the power of England, and a conviction that it was not necessary to obey her. Smuggling had increased with the growth of colonial trade and commerce. This naturally caused resentment on the one side, and a disregard for law on the other. Most important of all, perhaps, was the growth of national self-consciousness. As each succeeding generation grew up, people of the different colonies became more like one another, less like Englishmen. Gradually they had come to think and to feel, not as members of the British Empire, but as Americans.

In 1763, after a series of decisive victories, England found herself the most powerful colonial state in the world. But she was staggering under a burden of debt, was still trembling from the danger of defeat at the hands of France which she had only barely escaped, and was charged with the possession of new and vast territories for which it was essential that an effective form of government should be found at once. It seemed as if the bonds of empire must be drawn closer if they were to hold at all. These were the reasons why England undertook to reorganize her colonial government in 1763.

### The Problem of Western Lands

THE problem demanding immediate attention was the land west of the Appalachian Mountains. As soon as peace was declared, there was a rush of frontiersmen through the mountain passes. But the Indians beyond the mountains were very hostile, and the English ministry did not wish the colonists to run the risk of settling there until the Indian power had been broken, lest more than the usual amount of trouble with the Indians might result.

While the situation was being discussed, a serious Indian revolt showed that the fears of the government had been justified. Under the leadership of Pontiac, a chieftain of the Ottawa tribe, an uprising throughout the region was planned. Pontiac and his followers feared the English and colonial advances into their territory and decided to strike in 1763 before the English could organize their defenses. Fort Detroit, warned by friendly Indians, managed to resist, but before order was restored, all of the English forts but two had been captured and many frontiersmen had been killed.




**THE BOSTON "MASSACRE"**

On the night of March 5th, 1770, a small guard of British soldiers, menaced by a crowd of men and boys, fired on them injuring six and killing five persons, including one Crispus Attucks, on whose monument in Boston Common this bronze panel can still be seen. The incident was magnified into a "massacre" by the indignant citizens.

The land ceded by France and Spain had been divided by the government into four sections—the provinces of East and West Florida along the Gulf of Mexico, of Quebec, along the St. Lawrence River, and the vast region between known as "Indian Country." This was bounded on the east by the "Proclamation Line," so called because a proclamation was issued in 1763—intended to quiet the Indians—

assuring them that all grants of land to settlers there were forbidden for the present. It was planned to open this western territory little by little, as rapidly as the land could be purchased from the Indians and peaceable arrangements made with them. Five years after this line was proclaimed, the Iroquois ceded their lands south of the Ohio River. A little later Daniel Boone and his followers migrated to this section and laid the foundation of the State of Kentucky. George Washington and his associates secured by purchase a large tract of land south of the Ohio, and shortly before the Revolution he had surveyed it and made preparations to send colonists to live on it.

**WHERE CONGRESS FIRST MET**

From September 5 to October 26, 1774, the First Continental Congress sat in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, drawing up a Declaration of Rights and Privileges and establishing an "Association." Patrick Henry thrilled the 55 distinguished delegates by saying, "I am not a Virginian any more, but an American."

Many Americans, not satisfied to have the western land opened to settlement so slowly, complained bitterly of the ruling which kept them from territory which they had helped to win from France. The people in the frontier area resented their exclusion from the new territory west of the Alleghenies. They were also the most ruggedly individualistic element in the colonies and they specially resented being ruled by laws which they had no direct part in making.

Pontiac's conspiracy convinced the British government that it was necessary to keep troops in the frontier districts. The chief difficulty was the expense, and it seemed that the colonists might fairly be taxed to help bear this burden. The English reasoned that the Americans should be willing to pay part of the cost as it was they who in the end would be benefited by the western lands. When this plan became known, however, a strong protest arose. The colonists claimed that if it had not been necessary to tax them for defense during the French and Indian Wars, it was a mere pretext to tax them for defense now.

### Resistance to the New British Policies

George Grenville, as British Prime Minister, determined to enforce the Navigation Acts, maintain a standing army in America to police the newly acquired territory west of the mountains, and raise by taxation of the colonists a sum of money equal to one-third of the cost of this garrison. Under his leadership Parliament passed (in 1764) the Sugar Act, which lowered the duty on molasses from the West Indies but provided a more effective plan for collecting the tax, and laid a tax on some other articles such as silks and wines. As this did not yield enough revenue the famous Stamp Act was also passed, to go into effect November 1, 1765. This act required the placing of tax stamps on commercial papers, deeds, leases, newspapers, and many other documents.

The Sugar Act was objected to chiefly by the merchants of the northern and middle colonies, but the Stamp Tax was unpopular everywhere for it affected all

sections about equally. Hard times in the South had been marked, for the crops had been poor for several years, and any additional burden was felt to be intolerable. The colonists of all sections were thus drawn together in resistance to the new British taxes. They admitted that Parliament had a right to pass the hated Sugar Act, but they maintained that the Stamp Tax was a direct and internal tax, thus differing from customs duties. They contended that since the Americans had no representation in Parliament it was unconstitutional.

Much of the difficulty was due to the difference in the British and the American ideas of what representation really was. In the colonies then, as in the United States now, representation was entirely by geographic units, and no other method was considered to give representation at all. In England the geographic idea was not so closely followed. Representation by social and economic classes or estates was the fashion. Englishmen honestly believed that American merchants were represented by the English merchants who sat in Parliament. American merchants and landowners, however, felt that their interests could be understood only by Americans, regardless of their occupation. The possibility of sending American representatives to Parliament was occasionally discussed, and it was favored by a few leaders on both sides. The colonists in general, however, were opposed to it. They claimed that the distance made it impracticable and they feared lest it might destroy the authority that had been left to their own assemblies.

Before the Stamp Act became effective there were demonstrations against it in different parts of the colonies. In some of the larger cities these developed into riots. The colonists were so deeply aroused that a congress of delegates representing nine colonies met in New York on October 7, 1765, to protest against it. Petitions were sent to Parliament and to the king asking for its repeal. A Declaration of Rights and Grievances was also drawn up and sent to the mother-country. To bring pressure to bear on Parliament, the Stamp Act Congress recommended that the colonists refuse to buy, use, or sell English goods until the Stamp Act was repealed.

The boycott of English goods quickly became so effective that exports to the colonists fell to the lowest point in years; and in English ports and industrial towns many were thrown out of work. The commercial interests were thoroughly alarmed, and in their turn began petitioning Parliament to repeal the hated law.

Under this combined pressure from the colonists and the colonial merchants, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

Resentment against import duties on tea reached a head when a party of about sixty Bostonians headed by Samuel Adams and John Hancock and disguised as Indians, went down to the docks, boarded three tea-ships, cut open 342 chests of tea and dumped their contents into the water. This painting by Robert Reid decorates the Massachusetts State Capitol.

March 1766. At the same time it passed a "Declaratory Act," which was an explicit statement that Parliament had a right to pass any law needed to govern the colonies, thus indicating that the Stamp Act was repealed because it was unpopular, not because it was unconstitutional.

Parliament also reduced the tax on molasses, but applied it to all molasses whether brought from the English or foreign islands. It thus was no longer a trade regulation but became a tax to raise money. The colonists, nevertheless, removed the boycott on English goods and celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act.

The rejoicing of the Americans, however, did not last long; the question of colonial taxation was soon reopened. Charles Townshend was responsible for the terms of a new tax law which, being indirect and external, he believed would be acceptable to the colonists. He proposed to levy a tax on five varieties of paper, red and white lead, painters' colors, and tea. All these articles, except tea, were produced in England. Tea was handled by the English East India Company. The colonists had agreed to the principle of customs duties for the regulation of trade, but the Townshend Act explicitly stated that the new duties were for the purpose of raising revenue. That the British government had the right to lay any tax whatsoever to raise revenue in the colonies the Americans now flatly denied, and strong protests were made.

The new taxes were especially offensive to the colonists, moreover, because the money raised was to be used to pay the salaries of the governors and other royal officials. As noted before, the different colonial legislatures had hitherto exercised a large degree of control over these officials by withholding their salaries upon occasion. The new law would make the officials almost entirely independent of local support or local feelings. It seemed to the Americans that it would deprive their assemblies of all real power.

### England Cracks Down on the Colonists

In spite of American objections, the government took steps to enforce the Townshend taxes. More revenue officers were sent to America, and Admiralty courts were established, on the ground that smuggling was a naval matter, but really because these courts had no juries. The officials had found that when a smuggling case came to trial a colonial jury would not convict the accused, however plainly guilty, because of sympathy with smuggling. Smugglers tried before a judge in an Admiralty Court, however, were often convicted. The colonists objected strenuously to this proceeding and asserted that they had a right to trial by jury.

Not only were smugglers tried in court without a jury, but by the Townshend Act customs officials were given explicit authority to use a "writ of assistance," more severe than a present-day "search warrant." Armed with one of these writs a customs official could enter any building or board any vessel to search for smuggled goods without specifying in advance what was being searched for.

### Colonial Violence Begins

These measures led to serious riots. The rioting became especially severe when the East India Company raised the price of tea, and it once more became profitable to smuggle tea from the Netherlands. The customs officials tried to stamp out tea smuggling, but the length of the coast line and the attitude of the colonists made this almost impossible. Persons who revealed smugglers were tarred and feathered, and the customs officers were sometimes mobbed. Finally they appealed to the home government to send a warship to protect them, and the *Romney* soon appeared in Boston Harbor. Before long the *Romney* seized the *Liberty*, a vessel owned by John Hancock, a rich Boston merchant. A serious riot resulted from this seizure, and the English government then thought it necessary to send soldiers to Boston.

The Boston people bitterly resented the presence of the English soldiers and treated them with hostility. There was much friction and some mob violence. On March 5, 1770, there was a clash when a crowd of men and boys started to throw snowballs and stones at a sentry. A squad of soldiers sent to the aid of the sentry fired without orders into the crowd and killed four people.

The soldiers were immediately removed to an island in the harbor to prevent further trouble. That the more reasonable colonists recognized that the provocation of the soldiers had been very great is evident from the fact that two prominent Boston lawyers, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, appeared as counsel for the accused soldiers. Disorder continued in different sections of the country. In 1772 the English revenue cutter, *The Gaspee,* which had been actively engaged in preventing smuggling, was burned in Narragansett Bay. A committee was appointed to bring the guilty to justice but no one would give any evidence, and the affair had to be dropped.

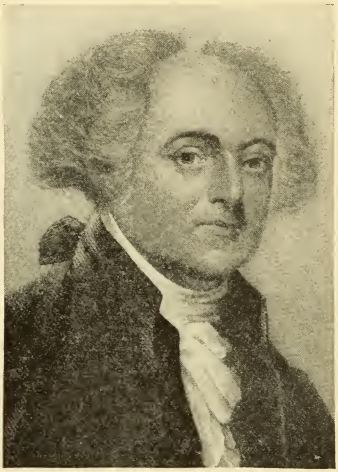
It cost twelve times as much to collect the Townshend duties as was raised by them, and finally the British ministry decided to repeal all the duties except that on tea. A period of prosperity followed the repeal of these duties, and the majority of Americans were contented in spite of the duty on tea.

**The Boston Tea Party**

At this moment the British government announced that the East India Company had been given the right to ship tea from China to America without paying the usual English duty, although the American duty of three pence was retained. As the English duty formerly paid by the East India Company had been high, the price to the consumer was now lowered fifty per cent. The East India Company was given a monopoly of the tea trade, and authorized to establish retail stores in America. This was a piece of favoritism to the company, which was in financial difficulties and had much political influence in the British Parliament.

Two parties in America vigorously opposed this new arrangement: first, the merchants, many of whom handled tea, and who could not hope to compete with the East India Company; and second, the opponents of "taxation without representation," often supported by the merchants. It was easily seen that if this cheap tea were landed and offered for sale, it would be purchased freely and the tea market for colonial merchants would be utterly ruined.

These two groups tried desperately, therefore, to prevent the landing of the tea. The merchants encouraged the agitation, and the radical leaders furnished the agitators. At Philadelphia and Charleston, the East India Company's agents were persuaded, rather forcibly, to resign, and there being no one to receive the tea, it was either returned to England, or placed in storage.



JOHN ADAMS

Gilbert Stuart's fine portrait clearly indicates the fearless, upright—but egotistical and downright—character of the man who followed Washington in the Presidency. He had a troubled administration but his wise, firm handling prevented a threatened war with France.

At Boston, however, Governor Hutchinson's two sons had been appointed agents for the Company. When three ships with tea came into the harbor, the radical element under the leadership of Samuel Adams, the representative of John Hancock, demanded that the governor send the ships away. There was a regulation which forbade a ship to leave the harbor without clearance papers from the customs officials, and clearance papers were ordinarily given to a ship only after she had discharged her cargo. The radicals would not permit the tea to be unloaded, and Governor Hutchinson would not give the ships

permission to leave without unloading. The ships remained in the harbor, and at last a high-handed measure was decided upon. On the night of December 16, 1773, a number of men disguised as Indians boarded the ships and emptied more than $75,000 worth of tea into the harbor. This has been known in history as "The Boston Tea Party." This act of mob violence was the real beginning of the Revolutionary War.

In New York City, likewise, there was a "tea party." On April 22, 1774, men disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the tea ships and dumped eighteen cases of tea into the harbor.

### British Retaliation

When the news of the Boston Tea Party was received, most people in the colonies were shocked by the action of the Boston mob. They felt that violence put the patriot cause in a bad light, and that Massachusetts should pay for the tea and make apologies. Such feelings were changed in a very short time, however, by the attitude of the British government. Almost everyone in England, even many who had been very friendly to the colonies, regarded the Boston Tea Party as an "unpardonable outrage." Under the excitement which it aroused, acts for the prompt and severe punishment of the offending colony were passed. The most important provisions of these acts were as follows: 1. Boston harbor was to be closed June 1, 1774, and the customs-house moved to Marblehead: the port of Boston was not to be reopened until the East India Company had been paid for the tea destroyed and the English government had been satisfied that the customs could be collected at that port. 2. The charter of Massachusetts was altered so that the governor's council and certain other officials, instead of being elected by the people as heretofore, were to be appointed by the king. 3. Town meetings, except to elect officers, were to be held only by permission of the governor. 4. Citizens of Massachusetts accused of crimes could be tried outside of that colony. In order to make the coercive acts effective, General Gage was appointed both civil and military governor of Massachusetts.

The Boston merchants wanted to raise money and pay for the tea, since their prosperity depended on having the port reopened, and some men in the other colonies, among them Franklin and Dickinson, also favored paying for the tea. The severity of the English acts, however, led many people to urge resistance. They keenly resented the king's altering the charter of Massachusetts and taking away the right of assembly. If he could do it in one case, he could in all the colonies. The Boston radicals, led by Samuel Adams, who has been called the "Father of the Revolution," would have resisted anyway.

### The Colonists Organize for Resistance

The colonial legislature of Virginia appointed the day when the port of Boston was to be closed as a day of fasting and prayer. When, on account of this, the royal governor dissolved the assembly, some of the members, among whom were George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, met at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg and sent out a call to the other colonies to hold a general congress to consider what ought to be done. The other colonies accepted the call, and on September 5, 1774, delegates from twelve colonies met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. Among them were George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Jay, John Dickinson, and Joseph Galloway.

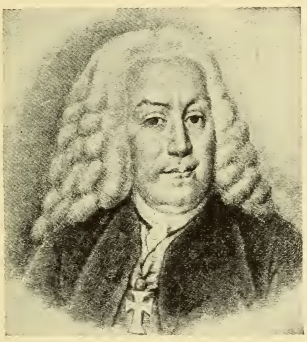
The first Continental Congress set to work to adopt some plan which would adjust the trouble with the English government and at the same time establish American rights and liberties on a permanent basis. The Congress drew up a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" which was sent to the king, who was assured that harmony would be restored if the colonies were placed on the same basis as in 1763. The Congress also adopted an agreement called "the Association," by which the signers promised not to import goods from Great Britain after December 1, 1774, and not to consume British goods after March 1, 1775. Even exporting to England was to be discontinued after September 1, 1775, if the coercive acts in question had not been repealed before that date.

The Congress recommended that a committee be appointed in every community to urge people to sign the Association and to publish the names of all who would not live up to the terms of this agreement. Before adjourning, it was decided that a second meeting should be held the following spring. It is interesting that these "Resolutions" of 1774 contained the self-governing principles later introduced into the British Empire. They held that the Colonies must have the exclusive right to legislate for themselves in public affairs, subject only to the king's veto, but they agreed to be governed by Parliament in regard to those matters of external commerce which pertained to the interests of the Empire at large.

When the English people heard of the Association adopted by the First Continental Congress they were astonished and indignant. Many Englishmen who had opposed the coercive measures of the king's party on the ground that they endangered the rights of Englishmen all over the British Empire, now thought the Americans had gone too far. The British ministry decided to use more force. The navy was strengthened and the colonists were forbidden to trade with any country outside of the British Empire or to fish on the Newfoundland Banks, until their attitude changed. At the same time, the prime minister, Lord North, was at work on a plan which would permit any colony to raise its share of taxes for the empire in whatever way it preferred.

As for Massachusetts, she continued her defiant attitude. The radicals refused to recognize the royal government. A revolutionary government which was established with John Hancock at its head instructed the towns of Massachusetts to train militia and to gather and store military supplies. Every fourth man was pledged to report for military duty the instant he was summoned. For this reason he was called a "minute-man."

It is doubtful if many of the powerful colonial merchants actually desired a war for independence. They desired to scare England into abandoning her new program. But the agitators whom the merchants supported to carry on their scare campaign got out of control and hostilities soon resulted.



**PORTUGUESE STATESMAN**

Chief minister of Joseph I of Portugal, the marquess of Pombal (1699-1782) carried out drastic internal reforms and successfully attacked the Jesuit organization in his country.

*From John Smith, "Memoirs of Pombal"*

During the winter of 1774-1775 the committees which had been appointed to enforce the Association were very busy. The Association was presented to everyone for his signature. Men were forced to take a stand either for or against it, and in many instances those who refused to accept it were roughly handled. There were many persons in the colonies who thought that the English government had treated the colonists fairly, that the punishment of Boston was just, and that the treatment which the English officials had received in America was enough to cause the mother-country to use force. These Loyalist colonists who upheld the British policies were called Tories by their patriot neighbors, and there were a great many of them in all the colonies. Many of the great landlords, some merchants, and most office holders and members of the Established Church, were listed among the Loyalists.

### American Loyalists and British Whigs Civil War in the British Empire

It is thus apparent that some of the most distinguished citizens of the Thirteen Colonies were opposed to separation from England, and many of these

bitterly resisted the Revolutionary movement. Some went so far as openly to ally themselves to the British and the Indians and forcefully to oppose their fellow Americans. The Patriots, on the other hand, often severely persecuted the Loyalists by assaulting them, tarring and feathering them, and driving them from their homes. In this way the Revolutionary War was really a civil war in America as well as a war of separation from the mother-country.

JOSEPH THE BENEVOLENT

This painting by Anton von Maron shows Joseph II of Austria (1741-90), eldest son of Maria Teresa, and her successor in 1780. He was industrious and beneficent, but his reforms for the people's welfare were not appreciated.

*Photo, Kunstverlag Wolfrum*

Support of the colonists by Whigs in England went to great lengths. American victories were hailed with enthusiasm; there was frequent reference to the American armies as "our armies," even on the floor of the House of Commons. Press comment made heroes of Franklin and Henry Laurens and Benedict Arnold (until his treason). Lord North was candidly denounced, and Washington as candidly admired. One paper said: "No king in Europe but would look a valet by his side."

### Events in Russia and Poland

To return for a moment to the continent of Europe. In 1762 Catherine II became tsaritsa. In 1765 the emperor Francis died and was succeeded by his eldest son, Joseph II, while the grand duchy of Tuscany went to his second son Leopold. The Hapsburg possessions remained under the rule of their mother, Maria Teresa, and her minister, Kaunitz, though formally she associated Joseph with herself. The actual rule did not pass to him till her death in 1780. Some vigor and vitality were restored to the Swedish kingdom by the accession in 1771 of Gustavus III, who effected a coup d'état whereby the power of the crown, in abeyance for the last half century, was recovered. Augustus III of Poland and Saxony died in 1763, and the Polish crown was secured by Catherine of Russia for her creature and puppet, Stanislaus Poniatowski.

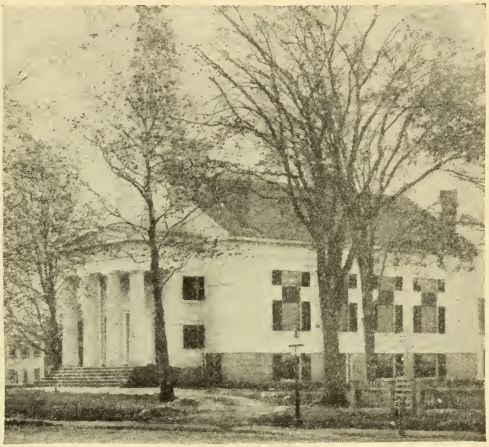
Poland was a menace to the general peace, not because of her strength, but because of her weakness. Theoretically she was a monarchy; virtually she was an aristocratic republic, because the crown had no power.

In 1772 the first treaty of partition was signed. Russia took the biggest share of the spoil. Frederick took West Prussia, Austria took Galicia, and Stanislaus was allowed to keep what was left of the kingdom of Poland.

In Spain, Carlos III succeeded his half-brother Ferdinand VI in 1759, resigning Sicily to his younger son. His hostility to England involved him in the last phase of the Seven Years' War, and again brought him, in the wake of France, into war with Great Britain (1779-82). The Peace of Paris left him still in possession of the conquests the British fleet had achieved while the peace negotiations were in progress, and the Peace of Versailles restored Minorca to Spain. Otherwise his reign, like his brother's, was mainly devoted—with considerable success—to administrative and financial reforms; his death in 1788 left the crown to a son, Carlos IV, who unhappily proved wholly incapable of carrying on the father's useful work.

In Portugal a brilliant minister, Pom-

bal, also carried out reforms, but of a character too drastic to last after his hand was withdrawn. But it was Pombal in Portugal who led the way in breaking down the political power of the Jesuit organization which had for so long exercised an immense influence, especially among the Latin peoples. The lead given by Pombal in Portugal was followed both in Spain and in France; so that in 1773 Pope Clement XIV was induced to issue an official decree suppressing the order.



WHERE THE FIRST PROVINCIAL CONGRESS MET

The Assembly of Massachusetts met at Salem on September 8th, 1774, and organized themselves into a provincial congress with John Hancock as president. Adjourning to Concord, in the old church there, stirring speeches were made by Hancock, Adams and other patriots which did so much to hasten the Revolution.

**The First Shot is Fired in the American Revolution**

We have already analyzed the causes of the American Revolution and have traced the growing friction up to the point where open conflict was threatened. In the spring of 1775 spies sent out by General Gage reported that military supplies had been collected and stored at Concord, a village some eighteen miles north-west of Boston, where the revolutionary government of the province had its headquarters. General Gage had instructions from England to disarm the colonists, and on the evening of April 18, he sent one thousand English soldiers to Concord to destroy the American supplies and if possible to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Hancock was wanted by the Admiralty Court of Boston on a charge of smuggling.

When the people of Boston saw the troops march away, bells were rung and cannon fired to warn the inhabitants. Paul Revere, a prominent patriot, crossed the Charles River, where he waited for the lantern signals from the tower of the old North Church in order to learn the British route. Spurring his horse toward Concord he aroused the minute-men as he went. The next morning when the British reached Lexington, they found a few minute-men gathered in the square to oppose them. The British officer ordered them to disperse, and as they were heavily outnumbered, they started to do so. Just then a single shot rang out. No one knows by which side it was fired. In the excitement, shooting became general, and several Americans were killed. War had really begun.

The British troops continued their march, and a skirmish resulted at Concord Bridge in which several on both sides were killed. As the British troops returned to Boston the minute-men fired from behind trees and stone fences, and before Boston was reached two hundred and forty-seven English soldiers were dead or wounded. The Americans lost but eighty men.

Two weeks after Lexington and Concord, while excitement was intense, the Second Continental Congress met in

Philadelphia. Many of the delegates were still unwilling to break with the mother-country, but others thought that it was impossible to go back. As a compromise, it was decided to petition the king once more. On the other hand, the minute-men around Boston were taken over by Congress and called the Continental Army and Washington was appointed its commander.

Before Washington was able to reach his army, the minute-men had decided to take possession of high ground which overlooked Boston Harbor and they secretly fortified Breed's Hill by night. When the British saw the fortifications, General Gage sent three thousand troops to take both Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill where the Americans had their reserves. Underestimating the strength of the American position, General Howe, who was in charge of the assault, prepared to storm the heights. Twice the British were repulsed with heavy loss, but when they bravely advanced the third time, they won the heights. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, General Gage was succeeded by General Howe, who was put in command of all British forces in America.

### General Howe and Reconciliation

General Howe belonged to the group which was opposed to war with the Americans. He was sent over to carry on a policy of conciliation along with a show of force, and during the two years in which he was in chief command he showed more energy in trying to make peace than in warfare. In this policy he was aided by his brother, Lord Howe, who had charge of naval operations in American waters.

### Early Campaigns

A few days after the Battle of Lexington and Concord, Ethan Allen, a patriot of Vermont, surprised Ticonderoga and captured the fort with its supplies. Two days later Crown Point also fell into his hands. Then the Second Continental Congress decided to invade Canada, hoping to induce the Canadians to join in resisting England.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

During the night of April 18, 1775, 800 British regulars secretly marched off to Concord to destroy arms and ammunition stored there. Twelve miles out of Boston, at Lexington, a small force of militia barred their path and only dispersed when eight had been killed and ten wounded. Continuing to Concord the British burned the court house and what stores could be found. Harrassed by frontier marksmen their retreat was almost a rout, costing them 273 effectives to the Americans' 93.

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

John Trumbull's famous painting of this bitterly fought engagement—the first major battle of the American Revolution—is not more melodramatic than the facts. The British lost over one thousand men, more than a third of their effectives, in three charges against the American entrenchments. The Americans held on until their ammunition was exhausted, losing nearly five hundred men or a quarter of their number. Each side learned to respect the valor of the other.

Accordingly, two small forces were sent to Canada, one led by Benedict Arnold through the woods of Maine, the other by General Montgomery advancing from Fort Ticonderoga. Montgomery succeeded in capturing Montreal and got as far as Quebec where he was joined by Arnold. The combined attack on Quebec failed, and Montgomery was killed.

The invasion of Canada helped Washington, however, who was at this time drilling his army in the neighborhood of Boston, the reinforcements which General Howe was expecting, and part of his own small force as well, had to be sent to help Carleton, the governor of Canada. Washington needed all the time that he could get, as he had to organize a new army from the very foundations. When he arrived before Boston, he found a mass of men without uniforms, supplies, or training, and unaccustomed to military discipline.

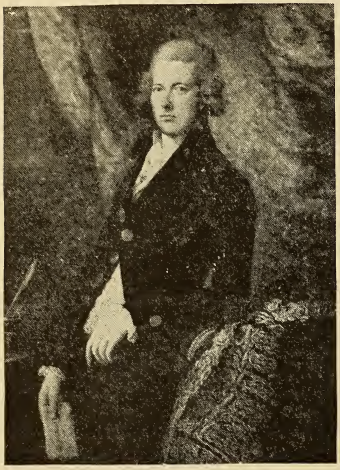
### The Declaration of Independence

During the winter of 1775-1776 even the American conservatives began to think that peace was now impossible. The sentiment for complete separation from England was steadily growing. In January, 1776, Thomas Paine, an English radical who had recently arrived in America, published a pamphlet called "Common Sense" which had a remarkable influence on public opinion. Paine ridiculed the idea that a king was sent by God to rule over the people. He called kings "royal brutes," and said that a monarchy was the worst form of government, and that it was absurd always to be sending petitions to England and waiting four or five months for replies. It is estimated that one copy for every three families in the colonies was sold within three months.

The desire for complete independence grew so rapidly that in the summer of 1776 the Continental Congress took up the question. At this time not a British soldier was present in the thirteen colonies, and it was a favorable moment for a decisive step. It was also believed by the patriot leaders that a declaration of independence would be a definite challenge and check to the dangerous British movement for conciliation and a redress

of colonial grievances. Unless this British policy could be checked there was grave danger that the revolutionary movement would collapse and that its leaders would be punished by the British.

The Declaration of Independence which the committee drew up owes its admirable literary form to Thomas Jefferson. The doctrines of this famous document were drawn from the writings of the English political philosopher, John Locke, who, in common with many philosophers from the Greeks down, maintained that the right of revolution was one of the "natural rights of man." The preamble stated that "all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable natural rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The Declaration goes on to state that when any government fails to give these rights, then the people should change that government and organize a new and better one, one which could and would guarantee these rights of the sovereign people.



WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER

Thomas Gainsborough painted this portrait of the gifted William Pitt (1759-1806), who became prime minister at the age of 24. He was distinguished for his brilliant oratory and unfailing devotion to his country's interests.

*Iveagh Bequest; photo, Pullman*

The Declaration of Independence also summed up all the grievances the colonists had against the king. Complaint was made of the quartering act, the writs of assistance, illegal taxation, admiralty courts and other regulations which had been forced on them. The document stated that the time had come when the thirteen colonies must be entirely free from the British empire. The colonists specified the king rather than Parliament in listing their grievances, as they still held to the constitutional theory that their relations with the British Empire depended upon their original agreements with the British king. After a few minor changes Congress, on July 4, 1776, adopted the declaration which the committee had prepared. It was not signed until August 2nd.

After adopting the Declaration of Independence, Congress advised the colonies to form state governments, as the old royal colonial governments would no longer be recognized. A congressional committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the new United States of America. The framing of this document proved to be a long task, and the war was almost over before the new form of government, under the "Articles of Confederation," was adopted.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Declaration of Independence. It put an end to the paradoxical situation which had existed before its signature, in which the colonists were expressing loyalty to the king at the same time that they were disobeying his laws and fighting his soldiers. Then again, international law had made it difficult for other nations openly to aid one faction in a civil war. With the Declaration, however, it was no longer a civil war, but war between two nations, in which foreign countries were at liberty to help either side. France, in particular, had shown herself unwilling to aid the colonies unless they declared their independence from England.

Moreover, the lofty idealism of the Declaration, expressed in eloquent language, made a deep appeal to liberal opinion in Europe, and served to crystallize liberal tendencies everywhere.

### Winning Independence

On July 4, 1776, the thirteen American colonies had announced to the world that they were an independent nation. It now remained to prove this statement true.

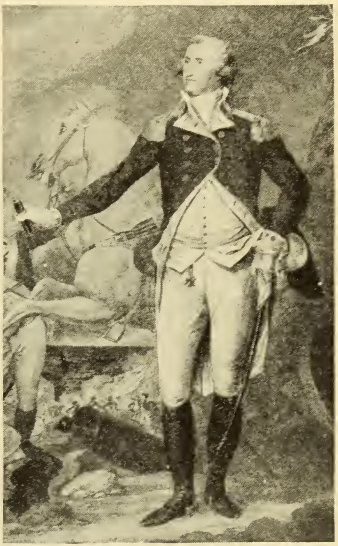
### Washington's Campaigns in New York and New Jersey

Washington's discouragements and perplexities grew as the war lengthened, and many colonists lost hope of gaining independence. The soldiers usually enlisted for short periods; many were farmers and unwilling to be away from their farms when their crops needed attention. For this reason the makeup of the army was constantly changing and discipline could not be adequately maintained.

The English army evacuated Boston on March 17, 1776, and Washington moved his forces to Long Island, for he thought that the British would soon make an attack in this region. In this he was not mistaken, for General Howe sailed for New York, and, arriving at Sandy Hook, was warmly welcomed by the Loyalists who had been driven out of the city. Reinforced by the new troops which Lord Howe had brought, the British then drove General Putnam out of Long Island, and came near to bottling up Washington. He withdrew to the Manhattan side, with Howe at his heels, retreating through Harlem Heights and White Plains, and leaving New York City in the hands of the British.

Washington then crossed the Hudson River, and retreated rapidly through New Jersey. Howe sent his best general, Lord Cornwallis, to overtake him. His situation was desperate. By forced marches, however, Washington was able to reach the Delaware River and to cross over into Pennsylvania before Cornwallis came up. Cornwallis's scouts brought in reports that Washington's forces had dwindled to something less than five thousand men. Cornwallis did not like the idea of a winter campaign, and he saw no reason to worry about Washington's little army, which he believed would melt away with the snow in the spring if it had not deserted during the winter. He and the other English officers withdrew to the comforts of New York, while the German mercenaries were left to hold the New Jersey battle line.

The Americans were so disheartened by the retreat across New Jersey that Washington saw that something must be done at once to raise their courage. Crossing the Delaware River, which was full of floating ice, on Christmas eve he reached the New Jersey side, and the next night during a sleet storm made a surprise attack on the German garrison at Trenton where they were busy celebrating Christmas. The commander, Colonel Rall, was killed, and one thousand soldiers were taken prisoners. Washington then returned to the Pennsylvania side of the river, and marched his prisoners through the streets of Philadelphia.

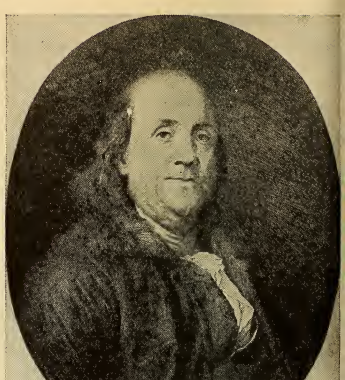


AMERICAN COMMANDER IN CHIEF

At the outbreak of the American War of Independence George Washington (1732-99) was appointed to the chief command of the American forces, and his skillful generalship largely contributed to their success. In 1789 he became the first president of the United States.

*Painting by John Trumbull*

When news of this victory reached New York, Cornwallis gave up his intention of embarking for England and returned to New Jersey to save the remainder of the German troops. When he reached Trenton he did not immediately attack Washington, who was on the outskirts of the village, but waited for reinforcements from Princeton, intending to "bag the old fox in the morning." Next morning, however, Cornwallis was awakened by firing in the rear of his army. The "old fox" had left his camp fires burning to deceive the British, had slipped around Trenton in the dead of night, and attacked the reinforcements which were coming up to join Cornwallis. The English were defeated and Washington's army took up a position on high ground at Morristown, New Jersey. Cornwallis then drew the English troops closer to New York.

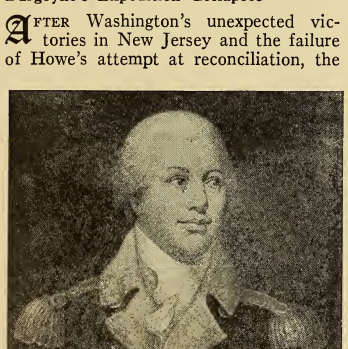


BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

American philosopher, scientist, diplomat and philanthropist. He spent many years in London (1757-1775) opposing taxation of the colonies, and in Paris (1776-1785) where he secured vital military and financial aid for the American Revolution.

**Burgoyne's Expedition Collapses**

After Washington's unexpected victories in New Jersey and the failure of Howe's attempt at reconciliation, the English war office decided to try more vigorously to conquer the Americans. In the spring of 1777 Carleton, the Governor of Canada, was ordered to send troops to New York under the leadership of Generals Burgoyne and St. Leger.



GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Originally a Rhode Island blacksmith, Nathanael Greene became a cultured and scholarly man whose unruffled serenity and far-sighted judgment made him second only to Washington in the military leadership of the Revolutionary War. The portrait was painted by John Trumbull.

In June 1777, Burgoyne began his march south with an army of Englishmen, Germans and Indians. As he advanced the Americans abandoned Forts Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and by the last of July Burgoyne had reached the upper part of the Hudson where he occupied Fort Edward. The English, however, found it increasingly difficult to obtain food and other supplies as they continued, for the Americans had torn up the roads and obstructed the streams in their retreat. All New England as well as New York sprang to arms as the British advanced and the patriot army under Gates and Arnold doubled in numbers in a month, thanks to the farmers who joined.

Howe, instead of going north to meet Burgoyne, had decided to attack Philadelphia, the rebel capital, thinking that

by occupying Washington's attention there he would aid the northern expedition. Left to his own resources, Burgoyne still put up a brave resistance, but after the battle of Saratoga, on October 7, he abandoned his forward march, and ten days later surrendered to General Gates the five thousand men that were left of his army.

Seldom, if ever, in their history had British forces met such a disaster; a completely equipped army under a seasoned general had been defeated and taken captive by what was after all little more than an organized militia. Saratoga is rightly counted among the decisive battles of the world. Its most important international result was that France, which had not yet given open aid to the colonies, now declared war against England and proclaimed itself an ally of the United States.

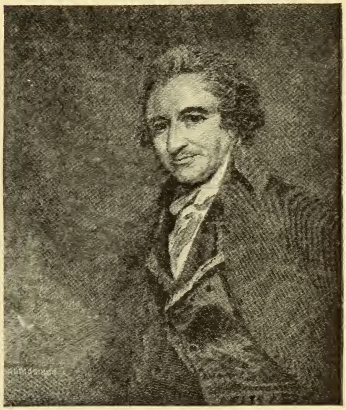
### The Crisis in Patriot Circles

While Burgoyne and St. Leger were trying to reach New York, Howe had left the city and gone by boat to Maryland with eighteen thousand men, and then marched on Philadelphia from the south. In September, after fighting his way step by step through Washington's lines, General Howe occupied Philadelphia.

After the loss of Philadelphia, Washington's army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, about twenty miles northwest. The British army lived in comfort in Philadelphia during the winter of 1777-1778, while the Americans nearly perished of hunger, sickness, and cold. The paper money issued by Congress to pay the army was far below gold in value and many of the farmers who lived in the vicinity would not accept it, but sold their produce to the British, who paid them in gold. This fact, together with the poor transportation system, made it impossible for Washington's army to procure sufficient food. The soldiers were so disheartened by privations that some of them deserted or even joined the British army in order to obtain food and clothing. Only Washington's iron discipline kept any force whatever together. Extensive flogging and other punishments were found necessary.

### France Lines Up with the Patriots

With the return of spring, news arrived of the French treaty and the Americans became more hopeful. From the very first the Americans had hoped for French assistance. Franklin, probably the most skilful diplomat whom the colonies possessed, was sent to France in 1776 to obtain what aid he could. He succeeded in securing from among the French courtiers several very able volunteers to go to America and put their swords at Washington's disposal. Among them were the Marquis de Lafayette and the Baron de Kalb. As the war went on, the French government became more and more open in its friendship, and gave considerable encouragement to the Americans, particularly by harboring privateers who preyed on British commerce. When the treaty was signed after the Battle of Saratoga, France and America became formal allies. In April, 1778, several French regiments sailed for America, escorted by twelve ships of the French navy. From that time on French aid was continuous in men, money, and munitions. Spain and then the Netherlands later



THOMAS PAINE

This English opponent of monarchy and established religion was sent to America by Franklin on the eve of the Revolution. His pamphlets unified American opinion against England and kept up the army's morale. His portrait was painted by Romney.

joined France against England, and so indirectly helped the American cause, although they were never definitely allied with the United States.

In the spring of 1778 England found herself with foes on every hand. Her extensive colonial possessions in all parts of the world compelled her to divide her fighting forces. After France entered the war, England offered terms of peace to the Americans which two years before would have been eagerly accepted. But now full redress of grievances was not enough.

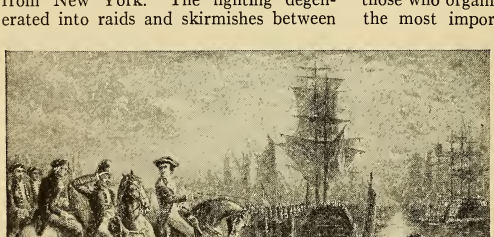
### The Shifting Front of Battle

When France entered the war, General Clinton was ordered to abandon Philadelphia, to take his army to New York, and to send part of his troops to the West Indies, where English possessions were in danger. Washington pursued the retreating army, which he overtook and attacked at Monmouth Court House. The British army in America at this time was so small that Clinton could not take the offensive. On the other hand, Washington's army was not strong enough to drive the British from New York. The fighting degenerated into raids and skirmishes between small bodies of troops and there were no great battles in the North after 1778.

### Naval Warfare

In order to annoy British shipping, early in the war Congress had granted to private owners the right to arm their ships, to capture any English vessel and to take over its cargo. During the war more than two thousand of these "privateers" sailed the seas and did great damage to British shipping. The profits made from privateering were often very large; the prize ships and their cargoes were sold in friendly European ports. If the capture was made at any distance from the American shores, the money from the sale was often invested in European goods, which were then brought to America and sold at great profit. These ships swarmed in the waters around the West Indies, where they preyed on British shipping. They even lurked in the English Channel and the North Sea, and seriously interfered with the transportation of supplies for the French army in America. During a period of three years, around six hundred English merchant ships were captured by privateers. Profit and patriotism combined to advance the Revolutionary cause. Among those who organized the privateering force the most important was Esek Hopkins, and Hopkins comes closer than any other person to being the "father of the American navy."

John Paul Jones, a Scotchman who had settled in America shortly before the war, made his name especially dreaded by English seamen. The king of France gave him an old converted merchant ship, the *Bon Homme Richard,* which he manned with a crew of many nationalties. Most famous was his capture of the larger and better equipped ship, the *Serapis,* in the mouth of the Humber in 1779.



GENERAL HOWE EVACUATES BOSTON

This contemporary print shows the nine-day destruction of military stores before the British Army sailed, March 17, 1776, for Halifax accompanied by 900 Loyalists who feared to remain in their former homes. The Continental Army recovered 200 cannon and ten times as much powder and ball as they had ever seen.

### The English Offensive Collapses

At first the British had not paid much attention to the southern colonies, but after a time they took the advice of the royal governors, who had fled from South Carolina and Georgia, and sent an army south. It was thought that the Loyalists there were numerous enough to be of great help to an English army. In December, 1778, an English force captured Savannah and began the conquest of the interior. An American general, Benjamin Lincoln, was sent south with a few thousand troops. He took up his headquarters at Charleston, South Carolina, and with the aid of the French fleet made an unsuccessful attack on Savannah. In the spring of 1780, when the French fleet sailed for France, Clinton was able to transport troops to the south and in May Lincoln was forced to surrender. The interior then lay at the mercy of the British army, and had it not been for the untiring efforts of small bodies of militia, South Carolina would have fallen entirely into English hands.

In spite of the gallant defense by the southern militia, South Carolina might have been overrun by sheer force of numbers had not Clinton been obliged to hurry back to New York with part of his army. Lafayette, who had been sent to France in 1779, had persuaded the king that the best way of opposing England was to send more troops to America. In the following spring a French army of 5,500 men embarked for America under the command of Comte de Rochambeau. It was news of his approach that made Clinton hasten to protect New York City, leaving the English army in the South in command of Cornwallis. Rochambeau reached Newport, Rhode Island, in safety, but as a British fleet blockaded his ships in Narragansett Bay, he remained there for about a year without accomplishing much for the relief of the Americans.

The year of 1780 had opened in the deepest gloom. That winter Washington's army had as usual dwindled almost to the vanishing point. Several of the regiments which remained had mutinied because food was scarce, and Washington had had to use both persuasion and force to overcome them. The severe disciplinary measures he had employed at Valley Forge had to be revived. There was no gold or silver to pay the soldiers and the paper money which Congress issued was worth little. Many people, worn out by the struggle, had given up hope of independence. At this critical time, Washington, together with Franklin, Morris, John Adams, and Jefferson, alone kept the national spirit alive. Unless the Revolution succeeded these men were doomed or ruined. There was hope, however, for the Americans. England's finances were in a ruinous condition; not only France but also Spain and the Netherlands were fighting against her; and many Englishmen were actively opposing the blundering way in which the English ministry was conducting the war.

A severe blow to the patriot cause was the treachery of General Benedict Arnold, who planned to betray West Point to the British. This was the strongest fortress in American hands and he was in command of it. He was one of Washington's best generals, and was fully trusted by his commander. Nevertheless, he had never been given proper recognition and he had been slighted by Congress. His resentment at this treatment was very bitter. When Washington heard of Arnold's treason, he wept and exclaimed, "Whom can we trust now?" Arnold had agreed to surrender West Point to the English army for money amounting to about $32,000. Clinton's adjutant, Major André, who was carrying the plans of West Point from Arnold to Clinton, was captured with the treasonable papers on his person, and was executed as a spy. Arnold escaped to the British lines, but West Point was saved.

During a year's campaigning in the South, Cornwallis, with the aid of the fleet, maintained his hold on the seaports, but he was not permanently successful in the interior. At the battle of King's Mountain, a thousand regulars were surrounded by farmers, hunters, and woodsmen, and killed or forced to surrender. Soon afterward General Nathanael Greene arrived with reinforcements and was so successful that Cornwallis decided to abandon the Carolinas. He then established his headquarters at Yorktown, on Chesapeake Bay, with the purpose of overcoming the important colony of Virginia.

SURRENDER OF HESSIANS AT TRENTON

Having driven Washington across the Delaware River, the British officers retired to the comforts of New York City and left their Hessian mercenaries to hold the New Jersey line. A surprise attack by Washington overwhelmed the garrison at Trenton. Colonel Rall was killed and 1,000 of his men were captured.

In the summer of 1781, Rochambeau managed to get away from Newport with the French army, and marching across Connecticut, he joined Washington on the Hudson. The allied troops, sixteen thousand strong, then started in the direction of New York City, which everyone supposed they would attack. But while Clinton was busy strengthening his defenses there, Washington and Rochambeau turned south to strike a blow against the British army at Yorktown. As Cornwallis had only about seven thousand men, his situation was desperate. An English fleet tried to reach Yorktown and remove the army by sea, but it was blocked by a larger French fleet, under Admiral de Grasse, which had been sent north from the West Indies. When Cornwallis found himself surrounded by land and sea, he surrendered on October 19, 1781, exactly six and a half years after the Battle of Lexington.

### Yorktown and Peace

THE surrender at Yorktown caused the overthrow of the British ministry. Lord North was forced to resign, and Lord Rockingham, who years before had secured the repeal of the Stamp Act, became prime minister. The political change in England was, perhaps, the chief result of the capture of Yorktown. This, rather than the military victory by itself, ended the Revolution. At this time England was at war with France, Spain, and the Netherlands, while Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal were hostile. The new ministry immediately took steps to end the war in America. They believed that independence was sure to come, and they wished to have as little hard feeling between the two countries as possible. At the same time, they prosecuted the war against England's other enemies vigorously and about six months after the surrender at Yorktown they began to win victories over the French. England was then in a better position to make peace, and as all the nations were tired of war, negotiations were begun for a general peace.

Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams were selected to negotiate the peace treaty for the United States. The Americans, who were skillful diplomats, succeeded in securing favorable terms. The treaty recognized the independence of the United States, and placed the boundaries of the new nation at the Mississippi River on the west, Florida on the south, and the Great Lakes on the north.

### The Import of the Revolutionary War

THE United States agreed not to prevent the payment of debts owed to Englishmen at the outbreak of the war. They agreed also to ask the different states to return the confiscated property of the American Loyalists, an agreement which the various states never carried out; many of them, indeed, made recovery of the Loyalist property legally impossible. England was allowed to keep certain fortified posts in the Northwest until the

United States should have fulfilled these conditions. The retention of these forts was the cause of a good deal of trouble in the next dozen years.

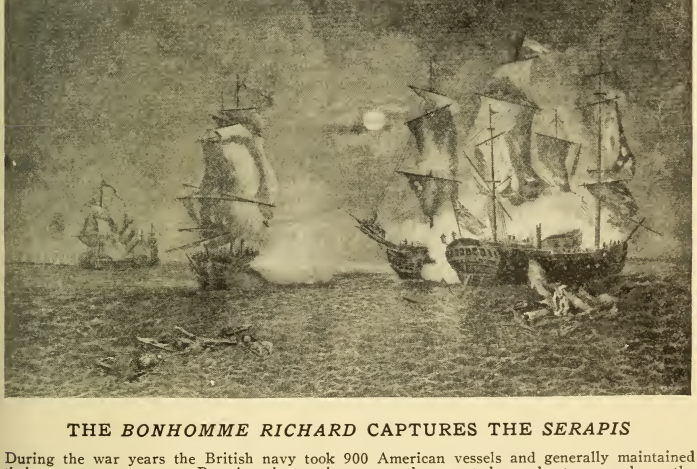
The war made almost as great a change in the future of the British Empire as in that of the United States; the relations of Great Britain to her colonies today are very different from those which existed before 1783, and one reason for this change was the loss of her American colonies. Meanwhile the thirteen states had the task of proving themselves a nation.

The nations of Europe were watching the thirteen American states. Although freedom had been won, nationhood was yet to be established. During the first years of their independence, the thirteen states were joined together in a loose confederation, so weak that it could scarcely maintain any unity or orderly administration in the country as a whole.

Now that the war was over the states found it hard to work together. The absence of a spirit of unity made peace almost more hazardous than war. Even the most hopeful of American patriots despaired at times of forming a firm union out of the thirteen separate states.

### Problem of Union

In 1783 the feeling of nationality was yet to be developed. Although the colonies were founded for the most part by Englishmen, they were Englishmen of different religious and political beliefs. Then, too, the various colonies had become rivals in the production of staples like tobacco; in the fur trade with the Indians; in the fisheries and the carrying-trade. The stress of war might make the Puritan of New England and the Cavalier of Virginia allies against a common enemy, and convert both the New York trapper and his Vermont rival into efficient scouts for the patriot armies; but as soon as the danger was over, old jealousies reawoke. Geographic conditions, also, divided the different settlements so that they had little dependence upon one another. Each state had its



THE *BONHOMME RICHARD* CAPTURES THE *SERAPIS*

During the war years the British navy took 900 American vessels and generally maintained their supremacy at sea. But American privateers and converted merchantmen such as the *Bonhomme Richard* retaliated by destroying or capturing 600 British ships. The *Serapis* surrendered off the coast of Scotland after desperate encounter as pictured by J. Rogers. John Paul Jones and his men transferred themselves to the enemy's decks just in time. Their own ship had been shot to pieces and sank soon after.

own harbors and rivers; there were no telegraphs or telephones to aid in communication; newspapers were few, and bad roads made the delivery of the mails slow and uncertain. Steam power was as yet undeveloped, and transportation depended as it had for a thousand years on clumsy horse or ox-drawn vehicles over bad roads, or on rivers with rowboats, or barges which had to be towed up-stream. It took longer in 1783 to go from New York to Boston than it now takes to go from New York to London.

There had been great political and economic changes between 1775 and 1783. All limitations on the settlement of vacant lands, in particular the coveted region across the mountains, had been done away with, and eager frontiersmen hastened to avail themselves of the new situation. Then quit-rents which in certain of the colonies had been paid either to the king or to the proprietor had been abolished, and this meant a saving of perhaps a hundred thousand dollars a year. The confiscation of the estates of wealthy Tories, such as Sir William Pepperell and Lord Fairfax, yielded a rich harvest to those who seized or received them. Again, several important changes designed to produce greater social justice had been carried out or at least begun early in the war. Among these were the abolition of inheritance laws (i.e. the principles of primogeniture and entail) which gave special privileges to the oldest son and prevented the division of estates, the abolition of an Established Church, and the attack upon the barbarous criminal laws of the time. The working classes, however, were little improved by the Revolution, and welcomed the opportunity to seek better conditions in the West.

In its religious results the Revolution meant the end of any effort to establish the English Church in America. It likewise led to beginning of a definite move to disestablish the Congregational Church in New England. It also came to be held that political conditions grew out of the nature and rights of man, rather than out of the will and acts of God. Yet the religious basis of life was still evident in the frequency of religious qualifications for voting in the states of the new country.

If the Revolution had brought great gains, it had also brought serious difficulties. Trade with Great Britain, which in both exports and imports had been vitally essential to the colonies, was of course ruined by the war. Farming lands and other property over wide areas had been destroyed. Many of the men most experienced in government and in business had been driven out of the country because of loyalty to Great Britain. A large group of debtor farmers were in distress and at the mercy of creditors.

These facts make it clear why a great American historian, John Fiske, called the period from 1783 to 1790 the "critical period" in American history. The United States had won independence, but it stood in grave danger of seeing its fruits wrecked by problems of national organization and economic reform too difficult to be solved. The fact that men like Washington, Hamilton, and their associates were able to save the new nation from shipwreck and anarchy is a great tribute to their courage, ability, and public loyalty. The establishment of a workable constitution and the successful provision of national administration and of financial stability were as necessary a service to the United States as the more dramatic deeds associated with the winning of independence.

### Government Under the Articles of Confederation

It will be recalled that the motion in the Continental Congress which appointed a committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence also provided for another committee to prepare a constitution. This committee drafted what was really the first constitution of the United States, known as the "Articles of Confederation." The adoption of the Articles, however, required the consent of all the states, and it was not until 1781 that this consent was secured. Maryland was the last state to sign, and it did not do so until Virginia and the other colonies who had claims on western lands had ceded them to the central government. During the entire period of the war, the United States existed without any written constitution, and so far as there was any central government it consisted of Congress and its committees.

After 1781 the Articles of Confederation were the fundamental law of the land. The jealousies and lack of unity among the various colonies, and their distrust of arbitrary rule, made it impossible to create a strong central government by means of the Articles of Confederation.

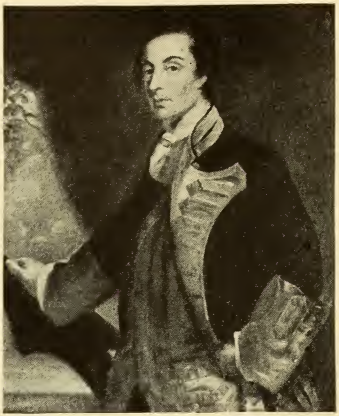
There were many weaknesses in this first constitution, especially the lack of power to enforce legislation, the inability to collect taxes, and the absence of any authority to check or control disputes between the several states. But it is only fair to say that, as a step towards federal government, it was an improvement over any previous confederation of states either in America or Europe. Many of the provisions of the Article of Confederation are in the present constitution, such as the provisions for common defense, the restriction on special alliances of the separate states, and the granting to Congress of such powers as the declaring of war, and the borrowing of money.

### Organization of Western Lands

THE greatest enterprise carried out under the Articles of Confederation was the acquisition of the western lands as a national domain, and their organization and administration by Congress. As nearly all the land which the United States has gained since then had been organized on the same general plan, it is worth while to notice in some detail just what was done.

It will be remembered that this territory had caused the English considerable trouble before the Revolution. The land immediately south of the Ohio River belonged to Virginia, and was known as the county of Kentucky. South of Kentucky lay the Tennessee region, which was claimed by North Carolina and was organized as a county of that state. The land still farther south was claimed by South Carolina, Georgia, and Spain. In 1787 South Carolina made over to the United States her claim to this region, but the United States, Georgia, and Spain were involved for several years in disputes concerning it.

The land east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers had been claimed by New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia under the terms of their original charters. In 1781 these four states gave up their claims to the Northwest Territory and allowed this section to become territory of the United States.



ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE RODNEY

The victory won by Sir George Rodney (1718-92) over the French fleet off Dominica in April, 1782, was the crowning achievement of a distinguished naval career. This portrait of him is by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

The boundaries of the Northwest Territory were somewhat indefinite, but it was estimated that they included at least one hundred million acres. It was thought that if this land could be sold for a dollar an acre the United States could pay all its debts. To aid the sales, Congress adopted the Land Ordinance of 1785, providing that the region be surveyed and divided into townships six miles square; each township to contain thirty-six sections one mile square, each section being 640 acres. Congress reserved the sixteenth section in every township to maintain schools for the settlers—an act the importance of which cannot be overestimated. Four sections in the center of each township were also reserved for the government to sell at a later date when land values had increased. This ordinance forms the basis of the American land system.

Soon after the Land Ordinance of 1785 had been adopted, Manasseh Cutler, the agent of the Ohio Company, approached

Congress with a proposal to buy a vast tract of land, but on the strict condition that before the purchase a form of government should be established for the Northwest Territory. Congress thereupon adopted the Ordinance of 1787, mainly the work of Thomas Jefferson. According to the provisions of this ordinance the land east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers was to be divided, as soon as practical, into not less than three nor more than five colonies or territories. These were to pass through three stages of government before they finally became states. During the first stage the government was to be entirely in the hands of Congress. As soon as the territory had five thousand free male citizens it should be allowed to have a territorial legislature and to send a delegate to Congress. Finally, when the population should increase to sixty thousand free inhabitants, the territory could come into the Union with a complete state government and enjoy all the rights of the original thirteen states. The settlers in the Northwest Territory were assured the same political freedom as was usual in the thirteen states. Religious freedom was guaranteed and there was definite provision for free public education.

The United States might have tried to keep the new lands as colonies, dependent upon the older states. This was probably the first time in the history of the world that so generous a political attitude was taken toward new settlements. There is no question that this assurance of independent liberal government in the West had a great effect in encouraging Europeans to come to this country, and that it is one of the chief reasons for the remarkable early growth of the United States.

Thanks to the wisdom and humanitarianism of Thomas Jefferson, who although himself a slaveholder was opposed to the institution, slavery was forever excluded from the Northwest Territory. While farming conditions in the greater part of the section would have made slavery unprofitable anyway, southern Illinois and Indiana might readily have become slave territories, and in that case the history of the Union might have been altered. The fact, also, that these original territories were free had a definite influence on the later western lands. Moreover, it was an important factor in encouraging immigration both from the northeastern states and from Europe, because the immigrants knew that they would not be placed in competition with slave labor.

The Ordinance of 1787, in a modified form, is still applied to the governing the territories of the United States, and it is, all in all, the most important legacy of the Confederation. Most of the forty-eight states, except the thirteen original ones, passed through the three stages of government provided for in this Ordinance. The Ordinance laid the basis for the colonial system of the United States, and this system dealt with more important territory during the nineteenth century than the colonial policy of most other modern states.

As soon as the Ordinance of 1787 was signed, the second Ohio Company (a joint-stock association organized by Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler in Rutland, Mass., on March 3, 1786) purchased 1,500,000 acres of land. The company insisted on a wholesale rate of sixty-six and two-thirds cents an acre, and since it obtained the right to make part of the payment in Continental currency, which at this period was worth about twelve and one-half cents on the dollar, the United States received much less than a million dollars, the nominal purchase price. These liberal terms were secured from Congress by the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, who suggested ways in which congressmen and other leading citizens could share in the enterprise and profit thereby. The American "land racket" thus came into being.

The United States soon afterwards sold three million acres to individuals, and a boom in western land began. The first immigrants of the Ohio Company floated down the Ohio from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Muskingum River, and after a short journey up the Muskingum made a landing opposite Fort Harmon, where they began the wilderness settlement of Marietta. Soon afterwards a rival land company began a settlement on the present site of Cincinnati.

The hard times following the war caused many easterners to go west. Pamphlets booming the western land were distributed in the older settlements to such an extent that the New England au-

thorities, becoming alarmed over the great numbers leaving for the West, issued pamphlets of their own describing the Ohio valley as a region with a cold climate, an unproductive soil, and woods full of panthers, Indians, and hoop-snakes. Nevertheless, many New Englanders in great covered wagons on which was painted "To Marietta on the Ohio" drove to Pittsburgh and from there made the journey west on flatboats. Settlers from the South traveled by wagon until they reached the Ohio River at Wheeling, West Virginia. The Ohio Settlements grew so rapidly that a territorial government was soon established. The capital was located at Marietta, and General Arthur St. Clair was appointed the first territorial governor of the Northwest.

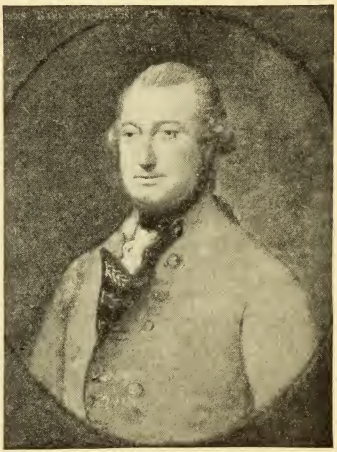
### The Political and Economic Crisis

NOTWITHSTANDING the really great contribution of the organization and settlement of the Ohio valley and the fact that the Articles of Confederation were a remarkable step in advance over what preceded them, it was soon evident that they were not sufficient to bring order and prosperity to the country. Various conditions following the Revolution were such as to bring the nation to the verge of bankruptcy, and the central government was too weak to find a way out.

The Americans had fought the Revolutionary War to uphold their state governments against the central government of the British Empire. Due to this experience they purposely made their first central government weak. The most important powers were left with the thirteen state governments, which were understood and trusted. The states considered themselves as independent nations joined together in a league of friendship.

The central government had a congress of one house in which each state, regardless of its size, had one vote. Congress had power to make war, declare peace, borrow money, and to pass laws concerning a few other matters of general importance, but some of the most necessary powers—such as the right to tax and the right to regulate commerce—belonged to the states. If it had declared war, the central government could not have raised an army, but could only have asked the states to furnish men and money. During the colonial period the central government of the British Empire had maintained the right to tax the colonies and to regulate their commerce. While the Articles of Confederation were being drafted the Americans were fighting a war which was a protest against this alleged right of taxation, and consequently they were not willing to give these powers to any central government, even one which they themselves had created.

Moreover, the central government had no executive department, and the important duty of enforcing the laws passed by Congress was left to the different states. The states, however, having nothing to fear from the central government, refused to enforce laws which they did not like. No country could long endure under such a system. The new nation was not able to pay its debts or to enforce the terms of the peace treaty with Great Britain, and people on the other side of the Atlantic speculated as to how long the government of the United States of America could survive.



THE MARQUESS CORNWALLIS

Painted by Gainsborough, this portrait of Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805) shows a man of character and integrity. Leader of a British force in America, he was compelled to capitulate to the French and Americans at Yorktown.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

Under the terms of the Treaty of Peace the Loyalists were promised protection, and the restoration of property which had been taken from them during the war. Congress now asked the states to permit the restoration of this property and the collection of debts owed before the war to English merchants. As some of the states refused, England accused the United States of bad faith in fulfilling the treaty. The Loyalists still in the United States were harshly treated in some sections, and only a few of them were able to recover their property. During the war, New York City had been a place of refuge for them. When the Treaty of Peace was signed and the English army withdrew, the Whigs came back to their old homes. They were naturally very bitter toward the Loyalists, and the New York legislature enacted laws unjust to them and contrary to the terms of the treaty with England.

Because the states failed to carry out the terms of the treaty in regard to the Loyalists, Great Britain refused to surrender the western military posts, Detroit, Mackinac, Erie, Niagara, and Oswego. The Americans then claimed that the English also had violated the treaty. When the English armies had evacuated the South, many negroes had left with them. The British maintained that the negroes were free, but the southerners declared that the negroes were slaves and that the English, in removing them, had taken private property. Not until 1794, after years of constant irritation, were the matters in dispute peaceably settled by a second treaty (the "Jay Treaty").

Since it could not impose taxes, Congress was always in need of money to carry on the government. We have seen the situation during the war, when it was only through the patriotic endeavors of such men as Morris, Franklin, and Haym Salomon that the government barely secured enough to pay and provision the troops in the field. During the last part of the war, large sums were borrowed from the French and the Dutch, but this only placed an added burden on the Confederation, since the interest on these sums constantly accumulated. At the close of the war it became increasingly difficult to secure loans, either at home or abroad, and the grants from the states, on which the Confederation was supposed to rely, became even more infrequent and meager. Congress divided the expenses of government, including interest on indebtedness, among the various states in proportion to their population, but the apportionments were met by only one state, South Carolina. Many of the other states paid but one-tenth of the sum asked, and that tardily, and Congress had no way of compelling payment. This showed that common patriotism and the sense of unity were at low ebb.

During the latter years of the war the northern states especially had enjoyed a period of marked prosperity. The fact that both English and French armies paid for their supplies in coin had improved the money situation, and the opening of American ports to foreign nations had attracted trade. The increased demand for supplies for the army, and the high ocean freight-rate had encouraged the colonists to manufacture some of the articles needed for warfare, such as guns, camp kettles, and sailcloth. Increased business naturally led many people into extravagance and overspeculation. When the war prosperity collapsed, hard times followed, much the same as at the close of the World War.

Before the war, when the American colonies were a part of the British Empire, they had been able to carry on a profitable trade with other English colonies, particularly the West Indies. After the Americans gained their freedom, they found themselves worse off than before in regard to commerce, for Great Britain would not allow them to trade with any English colony. France and Spain also closed many ports to the Americans. As a result, the price of American goods fell disastrously. If such a condition should now arise, Congress could retaliate through tariff legislation, and thus secure satisfactory trade relations with foreign nations, but the Congress of the Confederation had no power to regulate commerce. Attempts were made to amend the Articles of Confederation in order to give Congress this power, but the states were too jealous of each other to agree.

Each state had its own tariff system, collected its own duties on goods brought into the country from foreign nations and made tariff laws designed to attract foreign commerce to its ports at the expense

of neighboring states. Interstate trade was hampered by duties levied at the state boundaries, and it was impossible for people to buy and sell outside of their own state without paying a tax.

By the year 1787 affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis. The people of western territories, who as yet had no share in the government, felt that the eastern Congress did not appreciate their problems. They were anxious that the treaty with England should be fulfilled, so that she would give up the western posts. They also demanded a treaty with Spain permitting them to take their produce down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, and they even threatened to break away from the United States and join Spain unless such a treaty were made. The states along the Atlantic seaboard, on the other hand, were not interested in a treaty with Spain, but wished for a settlement with England so that their foreign trade might revive. There was no coöperation, hard times increased, and it became more and more difficult for men to pay their debts. The business men who had loaned money on property began to foreclose their mortgages, and the debtors clamored for laws to prevent foreclosure and for more paper money in order that they might pay their debts more easily. In Massachusetts the state legislature was controlled by the conservatives and when they refused to make any concessions to debtors rioting began—known as Shays' Rebellion, from Daniel Shays, the leader—and the state militia had to be called out. Several of the states were less conservative than Massachusetts and issued considerable paper money.

Practical men, in particular those representing the moneyed interests, began to realize that there would be no real prosperity until radical changes were made in the central government. They came to the conclusion that the national government must be given the power to raise money by taxation in order to pay its debts, and to regulate commerce both with foreign nations and between the states. In short, in 1787 the American statesmen faced the same problems that the English had faced in 1763, namely, the subordination of local interests to common

INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

In 1775 Congress disclaimed any purpose of separation from Britain. But a year later when British men-o'-war began capturing American ships, the colonies instructed their delegates to vote for independence. When the debate on Jefferson's formal Declaration opened in this room on July 1, 1776, Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted against it, Delaware was divided and New York refused to vote. Finally passed on July 4th, most of the signatures were not attached until weeks later, the last not until Nov. 4th.

welfare, and the organization and administration of a new continent. Further, there was a desire on the part of the propertied classes to check the growth of democracy.

### The Movement for an Adequate Constitution

BOUNDARY and trade disputes between Maryland and Virginia led to a meeting of commissioners from these states in 1785. At this meeting Madison, seeing an opportunity for closer coöperation, urged that an invitation be issued to all states to send commissioners to consider commercial questions. The result was a conference at Annapolis in 1786, but delegates from only five states attended. These were too few to accomplish anything effective at the time, but it was then proposed that another convention be held the following year, not merely to discuss trade matters, but to revise the Articles of Confederation. This proposal met with such hearty response in some sections that several states chose their delegates before Congress had authorized the meeting. Congress was reluctant to give its consent, for it had now come to be a body of second-rate men who feared that a change might deprive them of their positions. The most important persons who worked to bring about a movement to provide a new constitution were Washington, Hamilton, and Madison, all of whom took a leading part in the Constitutional Convention.

In May, 1787, fifty-five delegates, representing all of the states except Rhode Island, met at Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation. Some of the best-known men in the Convention were George Washington, Edmund Randolph, and James Madison from Virginia; Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry from Massachusetts; Roger Sherman from Connecticut; Alexander Hamilton from New York; William Livingston from New Jersey; Benjamin Franklin and James Wilson from Pennsylvania; and John Rutledge and the two Pinckneys from South Carolina. Washington was elected president of the convention, and the venerable Franklin acted as peacemaker.

The delegates as a whole were a conservative group of men, representing the propertied classes throughout the country. Although they differed, sometimes violently, on details, they were in substantial harmony as to the general task before them. Before they had been in session many days they had agreed to do away altogether with the Articles of Confederation and to make a new constitution. This was in a sense a revolutionary action, for they were empowered only to revise the Articles of Confederation. All through the warm summer months the delegates labored behind the closed doors of Carpenters' Hall, until they finally agreed on the present American Constitution. It represented many compromises, some of them illogical, but all necessary to bring together and harmonize conflicting views. It should be noted that most of these compromises deal with details of organization rather than with fundamental purposes.

Under the Articles of Confederation the small states had had as much power as the large ones. Naturally they wished to retain this advantage, and just as naturally the large states objected. It was finally agreed that each state should have two members in the upper house, or Senate, but that membership in the lower house, or House of Representatives, should be based on population. This was the so-called "Great Compromise" of the Constitutional Convention.

Since each state was to be represented in the House of Representatives according to its population, the southern slaveholding states wished to count their slaves. The North objected because the slaves had no vote. The compromise finally reached provided that three-fifths of the slaves should be counted. This increased the number of southern members in the House of Representatives, but in another way it was a disadvantage to the South, for direct taxes were apportioned on the same basis and the slaves paid no taxes.

Most of the delegates were convinced that the new government would be a failure unless Congress had the power to regulate commerce, but some of the southern delegates were afraid that Congress might pass laws which would interfere with the African slave trade and with the export trade. After much discussion it was decided to give Congress power to regulate commerce, with two exceptions; no export tax could be levied,

and the African slave trade could not be interfered with before 1808.

The Constitution as finally drawn up provided for a system of government with three departments—the Legislative, consisting of a congress of two houses; the Executive, made up of the president and subordinate officers, and the Judicial, composed of the federal courts which were to be created by Congress. Congress was given the power to levy taxes, regulate commerce, control the army and navy, declare war, make peace, govern territories, care for the mails, coin money, etc. The powers not given to Congress were retained by the states. Furthermore, the Constitution contained what is sometimes called the "elastic clause," which gives Congress "power to make all laws which shall be considered necessary and proper to carry into execution" the powers previously authorized. This clause has allowed the central government to meet new needs as the size of the country has increased and new problems have arisen.

The powers of the executive department have grown until our President has become more powerful than the executive of any other constitutional government. It took a desperate situation to bring the colonists to a position where they would tolerate and create a strong executive. Their dislike of the arbitrary power of the English king had led them to deny even the veto power to the state governors created by the new state constitutions drawn up after 1776.

The final decision as to the legality of the acts of Congress and of the various state legislatures rests with the judiciary. Whether or not this was wise is still a disputed question. While undoubtedly it prevents much unnecessary and hasty legislation, it also tends to make needed reform difficult. In England and in most other democratic countries the acts of Parliament, which represents the people, are the final authority. In the United States all legislative and executive action must conform to the legal interpretation of the Constitution as made by the federal judges. Such a method necessarily tends to emphasize stability and continuity, both desirable characteristics in national affairs. It delays progress, but its advocates claim that this makes advances more certain in the end.

**RELIEF OF GIBRALTAR: ENGLISH FLEET BRAVES SPANISH BATTERIES**

Disastrous as was the issue of the War of American Independence to Great Britain, yet towards the end of the struggle some memorable victories restored her naval ascendancy. This illustration, which appeared in the European Magazine in 1782, depicts the relief of Gibraltar by the English fleet under Admiral Darby on April 12, 1781, and gives a perspective view. Stores for the starving garrison were landed amid a heavy bombardment, all the Spanish batteries having opened fire.

PAUL REVERE'S RIDE

This familiar painting by Robert Reid in the State House, Boston, celebrates Paul Revere's midnight ride (April 18-19, 1775) from Charlestown to Lexington to rouse the Minute Men and warn Hancock and Adams of the coming of British troops. The battle of Lexington followed.

In general, the framers of the Constitution were profoundly influenced by the great French political philosopher, Baron Montesquieu, who held that political freedom could only be secured by a system of checks and balances between the executive, legislative, and judicial departments. This ideal was made the fundamental framework of the new government.

### The Struggle for Ratification

When the Constitution was submitted to the states for approval, a flood of criticism was let loose. It was claimed that the new Constitution took away too much power from the states; that the President might become a dictator, and that there were no guarantees of freedom of the press, or of speech, or of religious worship. The people who approved of the Constitution were called Federalists, and those opposed Anti-Federalists. These were the first American political parties but they had no unified national organization.

An important reason for opposition to the Constitution was to be found on the financial side. Most framers of the Constitution, as has been said, represented the moneyed interests. The members of the debtor class were inclined to suspect anything they did, and to object to a strong central government, which they themselves would be able to influence less than they could the state legislatures. The majority of the debtors were farmers.

The advocates of the Constitution were in the minority, but they were able and influential. They used both brains and money in conducting an effective campaign to obtain support for the Constitution. Hamilton, together with Madison and Jay, wrote a series of pamphlets called "The Federalist," in which the terms of the Constitution were explained and its adoption eloquently urged. By the summer of 1788, the Federalists had succeeded in inducing eleven states to ratify. The two remaining states—North Carolina and Rhode Island—accepted the Constitution, the former in November, 1789, the latter after Congress had threatened a suspension of commercial intercourse, in May, 1790.

To give some idea of the limited suffrage at the time, it might be pointed out that not over 160,000 citizens out of the population of some 4,000,000 voted to elect delegates to the ratifying conventions. As the most bitter opposition to the Constitution was found among the lower classes, universal suffrage in 1788 would certainly have meant the rejection of the Constitution.

Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia had ratified on the understanding that amendments should speedily be added, and in 1791 the first ten amendments were adopted. They form what has been called the "Bill of Rights," and guarantee such rights as freedom of speech and of the press, religious liberty, and trial by jury. The tenth amendment declared that all powers not expressly given to the federal government belonged to the states or to the people. The first ten amendments were inserted at Jefferson's insistence as a means of preserving the liberties gained by the American Revolution. They were intended to give permanence to the principles that had been set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

### The New Government Is Set Up

The men who had secured the adoption of the Constitution had done much for their country. But much remained to be done; those in office, and the country with them, had to prove that

the Constitution would work. The United States was peculiarly fortunate in its leadership. By the unanimous election of George Washington to the presidency the American people showed that they wished to give the new Constitution the best possible chance and that there was widespread public confidence in Washington. For the most part too, the members of the first Congress chosen under the Constitution were able and experienced men who believed in the new form of government.

It was determined that the first Wednesday in January, 1789, should be the date selected for the election of presidential electors. There was no uniformity in the method of their choice. In some states they were elected by the legislatures and in others by direct vote. There were no parties or nominations in this first election. The electors followed the actual intent of the Constitution and voted for the man whom they regarded as best fitted for the office, irrespective of party. They, of course, chose George Washington. He was informed of his election early in April and took the oath of office in New York City, the first national capital, on April 30, 1789. Congress assembled and the new government was launched. This was the only presidential election which precisely followed the plan embodied in the Constitution, namely, that the electors should be bound to no party but should make an impartial choice of the best man in the nation. By 1792 parties had begun to appear and by 1796 there was a bitter campaign between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. At first, candidates were nominated by secret caucuses in Congress, but by 1828 nominating conventions had come into existence and political campaign methods and practices, such as we are acquainted with, had made their appearance. From 1796 onward the presidential electors have been mere formal figureheads, voting strictly according to party directions. Only once has a presidential elector violated his party directions.

Washington began his administration by appointing some of the strongest men in the country as heads of the executive departments. Thomas Jefferson, who had gained experience abroad as minister to France, was made Secretary of State;

**LOUIS XVI OF FRANCE**

A mezzotint by R. Brookshaw, published at Paris in 1774, shows Louis XVI in the year of his accession to the French throne. Well meaning but incompetent, he fell a victim to the guillotine in 1793.

Alexander Hamilton, a brilliant young lawyer and a careful student of finance, was given the difficult post of Secretary of the Treasury; General Henry Knox continued to serve as Secretary of War; Samuel Osgood took charge of the Post Office; and Edmund Randolph became Attorney-General. In a short time Washington began to require the heads of these departments to meet and talk matters over with him. The present cabinet system developed from these small meetings called by Washington. The cabinet was not mentioned in the Constitution and it has been a gradual development in American political life. The Cabinet in the American system is an executive rather than a legislative affair, as in Europe. It does not sit as a part of Congress and direct legislative policies.

### Revolution Looms in France

The French Revolution, which was inaugurated by the meeting of the States-General on May 5, 1789, was the

product of many causes—political, social, economic, speculative.

France in the Seven Years' War had suffered heavy losses; her treasury was depleted; the normal peace expenditure was greatly in excess of the normal peace revenue; yet she labored under a very heavy load of taxation, nearly all of which was borne by those who were least able to bear it. Technically her peasants were not for the most part in a state of serfdom, but practically they were hardly less at the mercy of their seigneurs than if they had been. The first necessities for the country were the release of industry from its fetters, the relief of those who bore the burden of taxation by something approaching an equitable distribution of that burden, and the reduction of that burden by a rigid economy. The failure of successive governments to effect the necessary reforms made the Revolution inevitable: and in the meantime the empty treasury made a vigorous foreign policy wholly impracticable.

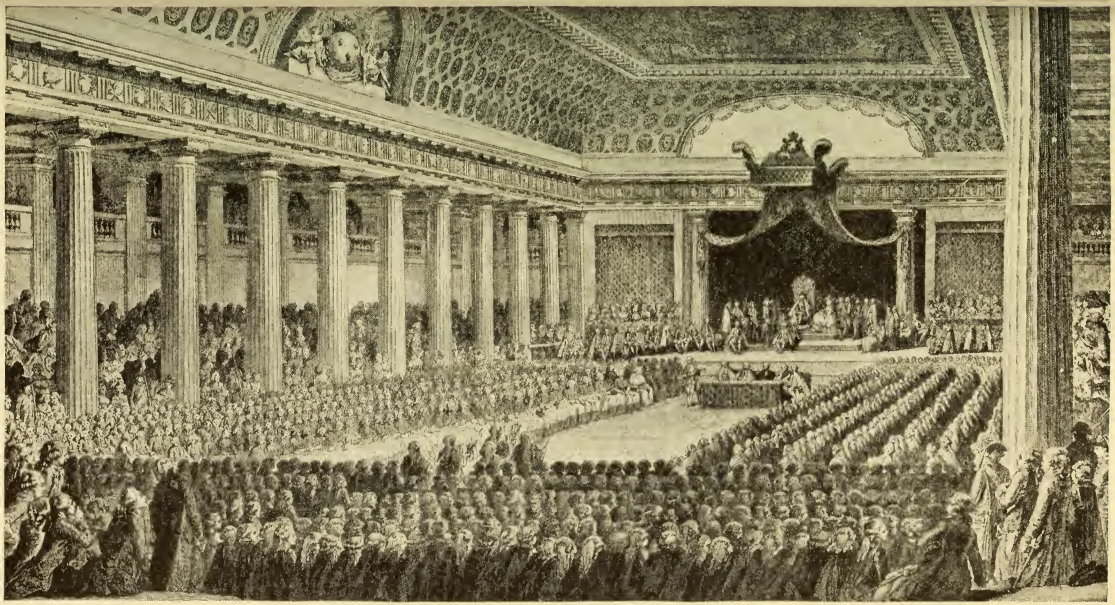
Choiseul, the minister who had risen to the chief control during the war, could do no more than tinker with the rotten financial system, while endeavoring to restore efficiency in the national services. In that particular reform he was so successful that the fleet of his creation was able, after he had been retired, to play a very effective part in the American War. But Frederick and Catherine could work out their plans in the east of Europe without fear of French intervention. Choiseul was dismissed in 1770 because he refused to bow down to the last and the most despicable of the king's mistresses. There was no one of equal capacity to take his place. The Paris Parlement, supported by the provincial parlements, tried to assert itself, but with the object not of tackling financial reform but of getting more political power into its own hands. There was no other check upon the crown's absolutism; and the result was the suppression of the parlements.

**CHATEAU DE RAMEZAY, MONTREAL**

Montreal was captured on November 12, 1775, by General Richard Montgomery of New York after a siege lasting 50 days. Entering in triumph, he issued a proclamation urging the people to appoint delegates to the Continental Congress, but met with stony refusal. During his occupation this historic building was his headquarters.

In 1774 Louis XV died. Louis XVI was a young man who would have meritoriously adorned any private station; his intentions were excellent, and his moral virtues were unimpeachable; but he was quite incapable of devising or of carrying out the solution of an enormously difficult political problem. His queen was the clever, self-willed sister of the emperor; the marriage was the outcome of the Austrian alliance, which was never popular in France; and Marie Antoinette's imperial brother was imbued with the most elevated ideas of divine right. The queen's sympathies were entirely monarchical and aristocratic, and Louis was very much under her sway.

Something was to be hoped for when Maurepas became the king's minister and the financial direction was placed in the hands of Turgot, who set about reforms more drastic than the privileged classes would tolerate. Turgot's economies were sound but they deprived aristocrats of their sinecures. His free-trade



HISTORIC MEETING OF THE FRENCH STATES-GENERAL AT VERSAILLES IN 1789

The refusal of the Parlement of Paris to register fiscal edicts led to a rare convocation of the French States-General on May 5, 1789. The last States-General had been summoned in 1614. This engraving by Helman, after C. Monet, shows the assembly before Louis XVI at Versailles. The first question facing the members concerned procedure, and the method of voting. It was finally agreed that the deputies should deliberate in a single chamber.

*Photo, W. F. Mansell*

measures loosened the industrial fetters, but at the expense of vested interests. He held back the country from plunging into the American War, but against its will. When he began to tax the noblesse, it was too much. Maurepas dared not support him, and he was dismissed after eighteen months (1776). Against his advice, the ministry had already sought popularity by reinstating the parlements, which proved not a help but a hindrance. Necker took Turgot's place; the British disaster at Saratoga made the war party irresistible, and for four years the debt piled up, while Parisian society lavished enthusiasm on the homespun-clad sons of liberty, the envoys from America. The name of liberty had not yet become ominous.

Necker had effected some economies, raised loans with surprising success, and produced an ingeniously misleading national balance sheet which convinced the public that he was a heaven-sent financier; but before the war was over he resigned. Then matters continued to go from bad to worse. The debt accumulated; no devices effected anything to remedy it. At last a minister, Calonne, who had started with the theory that wasteful expenditure is the soundest economy because it inspires confidence, changed his view and proposed to outdo the most drastic methods of Turgot. Calonne was promptly flung out of office. He was succeeded by the leader of the opposition party, Loménie de Brienne, though public opinion was already demanding the return of Necker. Brienne fared no better, for he had to propose new taxation which the Parlement refused to register: and though it gave way under pressure, it met the next demand by itself demanding the summoning of the States-General—which had not met since 1614. The king yielded; Brienne resigned; Necker was recalled; the instructions were issued for calling the Assembly of the Three Estates. On May 5, 1789, the curtain rang up for the drama Revolution.

# COLONIAL LIFE IN NORTH AMERICA

## THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCES AND THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, LL.D. Litt.D.

*Author of The Founding of New England, Revolutionary New England, Provincial Society, etc.*

From the beginning of European settlement North America has been cosmopolitan in population. Spanish explorations were soon followed by conquest, and conquest by permanent colonization. The Spaniards' earliest attempts at settlement in Florida and other parts of the present United States were unsuccessful, but in Mexico they built up a great colonial empire.

The French also antedated the English, and in 1605, after earlier abortive efforts, established their first permanent settlement in Nova Scotia. On the one hand, however, the climate was rigorous, and, on the other, the St. Lawrence River lured the French into the great hinterland of the continent, to explore, to convert the savages and to trade in furs. Population grew but slowly, to only twelve thousand by 1690 and to not more than eighty-five thousand when conquered and incorporated into their empire by the English in 1763. The old seigneurial system of France was transplanted to the colony and the life may be described as a semi-feudal one under wilderness conditions. It need not concern us here, as the future of the vast American empire of France was destined to be in English hands, although the French minority in eastern Canada remains much the same in character today, and forms an important racial block.

In this survey we need not consider the Dutch, who took possession of the mouth of the Hudson on the site of the present New York in 1623, nor the Swedes, who made a settlement in the present state of Delaware in 1638. Both were eventually absorbed by the English, the Swedes leaving few traces and the Dutch influence being felt to-day more in architecture and a few words or social customs than otherwise.

The first lure of America for the English was rather Spanish in nature than French. They sought for gold rather than to explore the wilderness or to convert the heathen. After various failures the first settlement was made at the mouth of the James River in Virginia in 1607, a purely commercial undertaking under the auspices of a stock company in England. In 1620 the well known body of Separatists from the Church of England, who had previously taken refuge in Holland, secured financial assistance in London and, with additional settlers picked up by the company which had been formed to finance the enterprise, set sail in the Mayflower. In December they landed at Plymouth on the bleak and inhospitable shore of wintry New England. The Pilgrims, under the leadership of such men as William Bradford, were the finest possible material for colonizing; but these religious refugees formed only about one-third of the hundred and one passengers on the tiny ship, the remainder being a very mixed lot.

After the settlement at Plymouth other small ones were made in Massachusetts, and in 1628 about four thousand settlers under the leadership of John Winthrop founded towns in and around the present Boston. The Massachusetts Company, a stock enterprise, was well financed and had powerful friends in England, and the arrival of such great numbers definitely assured the success of colonizing in America. One unique fact also determined much subsequent history. They brought with them the charter of the company, the latter thus

becoming located on the spot, and this charter they considered not as the mere charter of a commercial company, but as the constitution of a self-governing community.

Within a few years Rhode Island and Connecticut were occupied, Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore, and there were settlements in the Carolinas. The Maryland colony was a refuge for Roman Catholics, and in 1683 William Penn founded Pennsylvania as one for the Quakers. In 1665 the English had conquered the Dutch at New Amsterdam (New York) and it remained only for General Oglethorpe in 1732, in the establishment of his colony in Georgia for the relief of poor debtors, to occupy completely the entire coast between the French of Canada and the Spanish of Florida. The colonies finally formed were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia.

These presented extreme diversities in social and economic life and forms of government, yet with certain underlying qualities in common. Although the charters and other instruments of government varied both from colony to colony and from time to time, what we may call the standard form came to be that of a royal governor sent out from England, and a local 'upper and lower house,' the members of the latter being popularly elected. Whatever local differences the political histories of the several colonies display, there was one continuing thread throughout all of them, the struggle of each assembly to increase its powers and

EARLY PHASES OF THE EUROPEAN OCCUPATION OF NORTH AMERICA

English colonization of North America began in 1607 in Virginia. The Pilgrim Fathers reached New England in 1620, and Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut were gradually occupied. Maryland, the Carolinas and Pennsylvania were next developed and with the conquest of Dutch New Amsterdam in 1665, and the colonization of Georgia in 1732, the whole coast between Spanish Florida and French Canada was in British hands; and after 1763 Nova Scotia and Canada as well.

privileges as against the representative of the crown in exchange for voting his salary. This developed marked political self-consciousness and provided a most efficient schooling for colonial politicians.

Throughout most of the colonies the suffrage, although limited in comparison with present standards, was dependent for the most part only on such small property qualifications, real or personal, as to make it of comparatively easy attainment in the simple agricultural life of that day. This also tended to increase political self-consciousness and opened a 'career of talents' to a class very different from that then in political power in England. Throughout New England the town-meeting system tended strongly in the same direction. At these meetings, at which all local matters were settled by popular vote, any citizen, even if he were unenfranchised, had the right to speak.

The religious life of the colonies tended in the same direction of independence and lessening respect for established institutions merely as such. It is true that in Massachusetts there was at first much religious persecution of those, such as Quakers or Baptists, who differed from the majority, but in the eighteenth century all the colonies adopted a liberal attitude in religion, and the mere diversity of what may be called the established churches was an object lesson in itself. Moreover, all the churches, even the Catholic and Anglican, were practically self-governing and early resented any interference from the Vatican or Lambeth. Whatever the form of belief, the underlying feeling of all the colonies, south as well as north, was strongly Puritan, and the 'blue laws' of New England could be matched by those of Virginia.

With the exception of Dutch and Swedes, about twenty thousand Swiss in the Carolinas, a small but important element of French Huguenots, and a very considerable number of Germans and Celtic and Scotch-Irish who came in the mid-eighteenth century, the

**MEETING HOUSE AND PENN'S GRAVE AT JORDANS**

William Penn (1644-1718), founder of the province of Pennsylvania, definitely joined the Society of Friends in 1667. He died July 30, 1718, and was buried in the graveyard of the Quaker meeting house (bottom) at Jordans, near Chalfont St. Giles, beside his first wife. His second wife shares his modest grave.

*Photo (bottom), Humphrey Joel*

entire population of the colonies was pure English. There were many factors at work, however, to alter both the character and the outlook of the settlers and to develop an American type. Emigration almost ceased for a hundred years after 1640, and by 1701 Governor Nicholson of Virginia noted that the country by then consisted almost wholly of colonial born, who had already begun to 'have an aversion to others, calling them "strangers."' John Adams, when negotiating the peace with England after the Revolution of 1776, replied to a person who had taken

GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE

By his establishment in 1732 of 'The Colony of Georgia' in America, James Edward Oglethorpe (1696-1785) accomplished a wonderful achievement in state-aided emigration for the deserving poor. Ravenet painted this portrait.

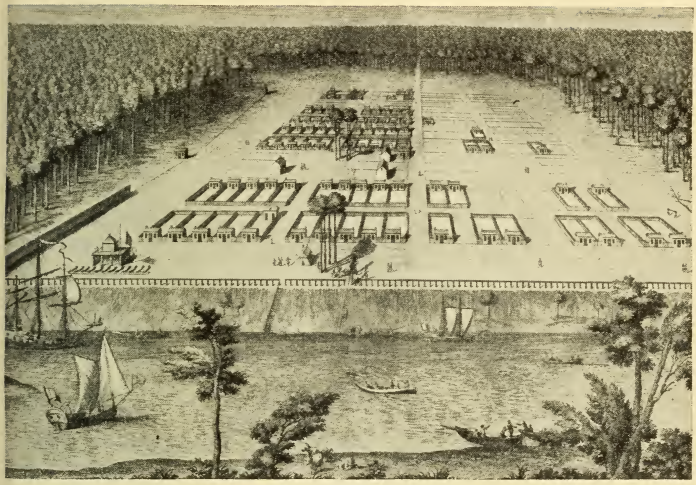
*Engraving by Burford*

him for an Englishman, that his family had lived in Massachusetts for a hundred and fifty years and that he did not have a drop of blood that was not wholly 'American.' The Germans, who numbered nearly eighty thousand by 1745, had every reason for heartily hating the European conditions from which they had escaped, and of course had no knowledge of or allegiance to England. The great numbers of Irish who fled to America from the famines and evictions in their old home brought with them a hatred of England which became an abiding passion.

After the first generation or two of settlement, when the Indians had been conquered to the extent that they had been forced into the interior away from the fringe of seaboard towns and farms, life in them became as safe and comfortable as in any provincial town in England. In the colonies where there were royal governors, the 'governor's set' constituted the leading society. The less said of the qualifications of many of these representatives of the crown the better; they were mere place-holders who could find no political sinecure at home. But occasionally, as in the cases of Governors Spotswood or Burnett, they were men of culture who exerted an influence for good on their governments.

The colonies may roughly be divided into two sections, one embracing New England and the Middle Colonies of New York, and Pennsylvania, and the other the colonies from Maryland southward. These two sections became so differentiated in economic and social life that they must be treated separately. This was due mainly to climate and soil rather than to any difference in the origins or character of the inhabitants. In considering the North we may consider mainly New England. In spite of its inestimable asset in the possession of the Hudson River and one of the largest and finest harbors in the world, New York, owing to enormous land grants, frequently fraudulent, made by the governors to individuals, grew but slowly in population and lagged behind the other colonies in development. Pennsylvania in some respects formed a colony apart, owing to the pacifist beliefs of the Quakers, the presence of the great number of Germans, who formed an alien group, and the tumultuous Scotch-Irish on the border.

In New England, within a few generations, the structure of society altered notably. At first leadership had been in the hands of the clergy and of the lay leaders (or their immediate descendants) who had had standing in England, men



SURVEY OF SAVANNAH, THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN GEORGIA

James Oglethorpe reached America in 1733, and immediately proceeded to plan out his settlement on the Savannah river. This view of the town was drawn in 1734 by P. Gordon. On the left is the guard house, with battery and guns, and at the far end, behind it, another guard house commanding the woods. On the river front are the landing stairs and a crane for landing cargo from boats. Oglethorpe's original rectangular planning of the town is a notable feature of Savannah to-day.

*British Museum*

of the type of Winthrop. Gradually, however, the influence of the clergy declined politically, although still remaining great. This was due partly to the abolition of church membership as a test for the franchise, and partly to a reaction against clerical persecuting zeal against the Baptists and Quakers and the part played by certain distinguished clergymen in the witchcraft trials at Salem.

The real cause of the change, however, was probably the wealth to be obtained by exploiting the riches of a virgin continent. In New England the soil was poor and not adapted to the cultivation of any single staple crop. A farmer could wring a meager living from it by his own hard labor and that of his sons, but in a country where small holdings of land could be had almost for the asking, hired labor was naturally very scarce and high priced, and neither the climate nor the soil made the introduction of negro slavery profitable. The overwhelming majority in that section, therefore, became small holders of freehold property, working their own farms with their own hands, fired with a spirit of self-dependence and independence, but with little opportunity of rising higher in the social scale. The merchants who did not do manual labor, and who acquired fortunes and lived in the seaboard towns, thus became the local 'aristocracy.' Lumbering in virgin forests and speculation in land grants also became means of acquiring fortunes.

These economic causes resulted in a cleavage of classes and the growth of 'town and country' parties. The merchants and speculators lived in the towns, in commodious houses, and with all the amenities which colonial wealth could procure. Their sons gained what they could from the somewhat meager education offered by Harvard and Yale, but seldom went to England to study.

On the other hand, the poorer farming class, although they were taught their letters in the small schools of the New England system, had scant time or energy for even the rudiments of colonial culture. They not only did their own farm work, but manufactured almost every article of apparel and daily use themselves. Their sheep supplied them with wool, which the women carded and made into clothes. They made their own tools and nails; built, with the help of neighbors, their own houses; laid out their own roads. It was a hard, rugged, independent life.

The South began much as did the North. It is true that the religious motive did not influence the emigrants going there as it did to a great extent the leaders of the earlier New England settlements, but the emigrants themselves came from much the same social and economic classes in England as did the New Englanders, and, after the first wild search for precious metals had resulted in disappointment, they settled down to small farming much as did their fellows in the North. The climate and soil, however, were entirely different. Tobacco became the most profitable crop, and this staple determined the history of the southern colonies for the whole period here under review. It was a crop which in the rude agricultural methods of that day quickly exhausted the soil, calling constantly for fresh lands for the planter. Men who in the struggle for existence emerged as leaders wanted ever larger estates, both for themselves and for their children. High political office and the friendship of the governor were the quickest means of procuring grants that often involved the winking at inconvenient laws designed to prevent such engrossing of the colonial domain.

Here as in New England, although in a different way, the simplicity of the first generation of pioneers soon gave way to class distinctions. Place, wealth,

**EARLY STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF A GREAT CAPITAL—**

New Amsterdam was founded in 1623, and the earliest extant map of the city dates from 1661. Inset above is a view of the town at about the same date, taken from N. J. Visscher's map of New England and New Belgium. Some idea of its growth in the next eighty years, in both size and importance as measured by its shipping, is given by Bakewell's large panoramic 'South Prospect of Ye Flourishing City of New York,' published at New York in March, 1746.

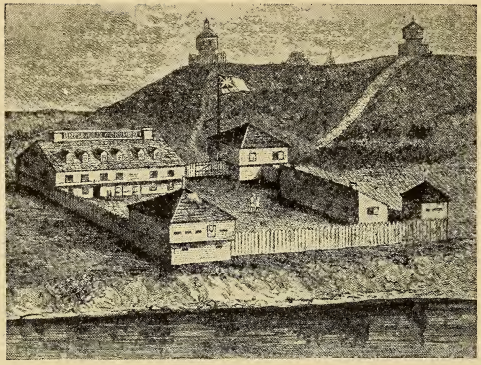
the prestige of large estates, social and educational advantages set a comparatively small group of families in a position far above that which could be attained by the small planters. This process was greatly augmented by the growth of negro slavery. There had been a few slaves, first introduced by Dutch traders, from the beginning, but it was not until about 1700 that their importation began on a large scale and that they began to displace white labor. The scarcity of hired labor had tended to retard the concentration of wealth, but with the introduction of slaves, as in the nineteenth century with the introduction of machines, there was a great impetus given to the accumulation of additional capital by those who already possessed some. The gulf between the large landowner with his scores or hundreds of slaves, and the small farmer, tilling his own soil with the help at most of one or two blacks, rapidly widened. More serious still, the use of negroes for all manual labor on the large estates caused manual labor in itself to be looked down upon as beneath the dignity of a white man.

The life of the larger planters has frequently been painted in very romantic colors. It had, indeed, a certain charm. It was free-handed, easy-going and hospitable. With the exception of Charleston, in South Carolina, there was no town worthy the name in the whole South. The rich planters living along tidewater or tidal rivers, shipping their tobacco from their own wharves direct to England and receiving in the same way the furniture, clothes, plate or books sent out to them in exchange from their London correspondents, looked down upon the trafficking town merchants of the North much as the aristocracy in England looked down upon trades-folk. On their large estates, with their gardens and long carriage drives, in their dances and house parties, their fox-hunting and absorption in politics, they lived much the lives of contemporary country gentlemen at home, modified, however, in their characters by the influence of climate and the possession of slaves over whom their power was absolute.

In the eighteenth century particularly, many emigrants arrived from England of a class known as 'indented servants.' Sometimes these servants were of a vicious class taken from the jails by the

—NEW AMSTERDAM, AND NEW YORK CITY EIGHTY YEARS LATER

The view is taken from that part of Long Island now called Brooklyn, across East River to the southern shore of Manhattan Island, the fort, now represented by Battery Park, being just out of the picture beyond the great dock on the extreme left (opposite page). Of the towers shown, that on the left is the Dutch church; the tallest is the English church, with the City Hall beside it and the Exchange before it on the water front. The right-hand tower is that of the French church.



FRONTIER FORT ON THE KENNEBEC

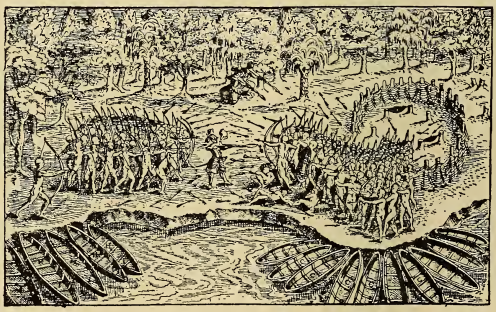
Life on the frontier necessitated the erection of numerous fortified posts to meet the menace of Indian warfare. Above is a reconstruction of Fort Halifax, built in 1755 near Teconick Falls on the Kennebec River, in Maine. It comprised barracks, a large residential structure, and corner blockhouses.

*From Winsor, 'History of America'*

English government, which wished to avoid the expense of keeping them by dumping them on the colonies, a practice deeply resented by the Americans and bringing forth Benjamin Franklin's well-known suggestion of sending rattlesnakes to England in exchange. These, however, formed but a small part of the 'indented servants' who arrived. Poor people, frequently of the very best character, who longed for the greater opportunities of the new world, sold their services for a stated period, usually five years, in exchange for their passage to America. On arrival, this term of service, not the persons themselves, was sold by the ship captain to those needing the servants. Often these were educated persons and acted as teachers, bookkeepers or overseers. When their time was up they received a small payment from their employers and a grant of land from the colony and were free to make their own way. The system, however, bred grave abuses. The captains on various excuses frequently robbed their passengers of such small property as they might possess, and, as the business was profitable, many boys and girls were kidnapped on the streets of English towns to be thus transported and sold.

One of the main influences, not only in colonial life but in later periods of American history, has been the frontier. In the first place the frontier always makes for social democracy and levelling. Hired labor or service of any sort is always scarce, and, regardless of breeding or even of wealth, men find that they have, to a great extent, to do their own work with their own hands.

The men of the frontier start from nothing. They have to build up an entirely new social structure, and in the



INDIAN WARFARE 300 YEARS AGO

While on an exploring expedition with some Algonquins and Hurons, Samuel Champlain on July 30, 1609, fell in with a band of Iroquois on the warpath. A sharp battle followed and the Iroquois, who had never met firearms before, were routed. This plate is from the 1613 edition of Champlain's narrative.

struggle of doing so, the meeting of constant new difficulties, they grow impatient of both restraint and tradition.

When the first settlements were made, the frontier was actually on the Atlantic coast, but it was not long before it began its retreat from the shore. The Indians who came down to see the white men land from their ships were pushed back. The stream of immigration flowed inland behind the retreating redskins. Increasing numbers demanded more land, and the adventurous or discontented threw off the social trammels of even the simple society of the older settlements to plunge into the woods and hew out an independent life for themselves in a new clearing.

'A PROSPECT OF THE COLLEDGES'

America's first university at Cambridge, Massachusetts, was called after its first benefactor, John Harvard (1607-38). This print of 1739 shows its oldest buildings: on the left Harvard Hall, founded in 1650, Stoughton Hall (center), founded in 1699, and Massachusetts Hall, founded in 1720.

*British Museum*

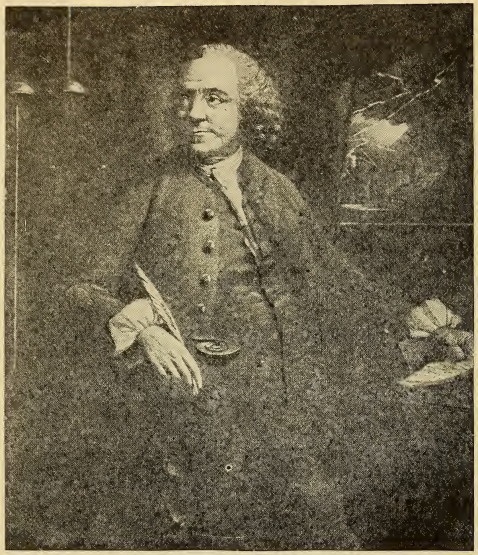
By the eighteenth century seaboard or tidewater life in northern towns or southern plantations had come to show great diversity, but behind these the long ribbon of the frontier, extending from Maine to Georgia, was united in feeling and mode of life, and in almost every colony the frontiersmen had their own local quarrel with the older settlements. They were poor and the old settlements were rich. They craved land, and the others held the grants. They were in debt and the others were their creditors. They were uncultured and the others looked down upon them. They wanted representation in the assemblies, but the older settlements refused to erect them into towns or counties, or when they did so so limited the number of representatives or refused them altogether.

A PRE-REVOLUTION UNIVERSITY

James Blair founded the College of William and Mary, Virginia, in 1691, and was its first head. The original building was burned in 1705 and the second, shown above, was completed in 1723. Blair has been described as the greatest intellectual influence in the southern colonies before the Revolution.

*From William Meade, 'Old Churches and Families of Virginia,' 1857*

These factors of conflict in the colonies must not be over-estimated. Until the Revolution, American society as a whole was probably far more contented than any to be found in Europe. Even the very poor enjoyed a higher scale of living than they would have done in any European country at that time. What has to be realized is the school



**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN**

Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), born in Boston, Massachusetts, distinguished himself in many spheres, and his researches into electrical problems led to the invention of the lightning conductor in 1749. He was one of the five members commissioned to draw up the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

*Portrait by M. Chamberlain; from Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerke,' Brückmann A.G.*

in which Americans had been trained by the time that England decided to exert its authority, an authority that had to a great extent never been exercised. The mass of the men who had fought the Indians, who had made the wilderness safe for their women and children, who had cleared the forests, developed a commerce, founded institutions of learning and been almost wholly independent of any authority above themselves; who had governed themselves in church as in state; and, finally, whose local struggles with each other and with royal governors had given them a political training unknown to the population as a whole of any country of the old world, could not be expected to submit tamely when their unexampled independence should be suddenly threatened.

Until that occurred, however, the feeling of independence had never led to any desire to sever the bond which bound them to the mother country. They felt that their trade was of immense value to England, as it was, and in return recognized the importance to themselves of the protection of the British navy. Except when their liberties were threatened they were heartily loyal to the crown, and in the letters and books of the time England was always spoken of as 'home.' In the older settlements the people read English books, reviews and newspapers. A man who had been in England acquired additional social distinction. From the South boys were sent to English schools and universities, studied law in the Temple or medicine at Edinburgh. The richer classes everywhere imported English furniture and English plate, and had their clothes and finery made in London, and shipped over to the colonies.

In the beginning, of course, the first immigrants brought everything from England, culture and cows alike. It must be confessed that the cows flourished more than the culture, although Harvard College was founded in 1636, and in 1647 Massachusetts passed a law that every town of fifty families should maintain a teacher of reading and writing, and every one of a hundred families a grammar school, thus establishing an educational system far ahead of that in England for many generations afterwards.

Yale College was established at New Haven a few years after that of William and Mary had been founded in Virginia. The present colleges of Princeton (1746), Dartmouth (1754), Columbia (1754) and Brown (1764) were also all pre-

Revolution. The New England colonies were pioneers in enacting legislation for free schools for the poor, and the population of those colonies showed a higher degree of literacy than at that time could have been found anywhere else in the world. In the South the school system, like all the rest of social life, was different; but by means of the so-called 'field schools,' maintained by the richer planters, a higher degree of literacy was obtained than was thought of or obtained in the England of that day. The wealthy boys were taught by private tutors mostly brought over from England, and thus imbibed English ideas and some knowledge of England, together with their mathematics and Vergil.

The culture brought by the original settlers suffered a decline in the struggle with nature and the savages, but with the beginning of the eighteenth century a native culture began to spring up. Wealth had accumulated and a 'public' for literary wares had begun to form. Moreover, there was a notable development of the public library idea. Between 1732 and 1763 twenty-five public libraries are known to have been established in various parts of the colonies. The same period saw a great advance in the newspapers, which by that time had become quite equal to their contemporaries in England. Magazines were started several times, but they were usually short-lived. Such books as were written were mainly devoted to religious or political controversy, and few had enough vitality of contemporary interest to have survived to the present day.

If the colonies contributed little or nothing to belles lettres, the same cannot be said of philosophy or science. Bishop Berkeley, who spent some years in Rhode Island, found plenty of intellectual companionship, and in Jonathan Edwards the colonies produced an original thinker and logician of even European importance. For their scientic attainments, a number of colonials were elected fellows of the

**ART IN COLONIAL AMERICA: WEST'S PAINTINGS OF PENN AND THE INDIANS**

Benjamin West (1738-1820) was born at Springfield, Pennsylvania, of Quaker stock from Buckinghamshire. After some years in New York, painting portraits, he settled in London, and in 1792 succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy. This engraving from the painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, commemorates the interview between Penn and the Delaware Indians in 1683. Penn's treatment of the Indians was the best part of his colonial policy.

Royal Society, and the services to the study of electricity made by Benjamin Franklin are too well known to require further comment or explanation at this late date.

By about 1750 there were frequent concerts in the larger towns at which the best music of the day was played by orchestras large enough to render overtures, concertos, concerti grossi and symphonies. The stage entered a new phase with the coming of the Murray-Kean company from England, and in 1750 Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Hallam, both actors of note in London, arrived. For twenty years they remained and gave the residents of many of the colonies the opportunity of seeing well-acted representations of plays by Shakespeare, Addison, Congreve, Rowley, Farquhar and Steele. In New England the Puritan spirit was so strong that the theater was considered of the devil almost until the outbreak of the Revolution. There was no public performance in that section until 1761.

HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN BOSTON

The Old State House, originally the seat of the Massachusetts government, was built in 1748. It has been restored, but preserves its original external appearance.

*Photos, Brown Bros.*

Painting was mostly confined to portraiture, although the beginnings of landscape are noticeable. There were many portrait painters throughout the colonies, the work of some of whom hangs in English public galleries to-day. Notable among them were John Singleton Copley, the young Gilbert Stuart, and Benjamin West, who succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy. Extremely good work was also done in architecture, in what is yet called the 'colonial style.' The colonies followed English styles very closely, and for the most part all the architecture of the second colonial century was typical Georgian, slightly modified to meet local conditions.

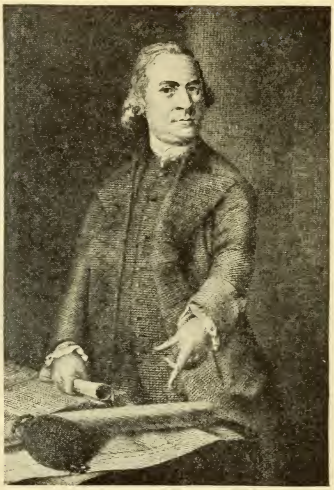
By the time of the Revolution the population of the colonies had grown to over two and a half millions, and it is necessary to glance at the bonds which bound this energetic, prosperous and rapidly expanding society to the mother country. In the seventeenth century there was a very definite imperial theory common to all European colonizing countries. This 'mercantilist' theory, as it is called, was based primarily on the belief that only that trade was nationally profitable which left a balance of the precious metals in the country. Each nation strove to buy as little from, and sell as much to, other nations as possible.

The ideal empire would consist on the

one hand of the home country which would supply banking credit, manufacture raw materials and be the selling agency for the whole; and, on the other hand, of the colonies, whose sole duty would be to produce raw materials, consume the mother country's manufactures and do no trading themselves with foreign countries.

The difficulty with the theory was that geographically no such perfectly rounded, closed system could be developed, and that it failed to take account of colonial human nature. In so far as the American portion of the empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was concerned, the danger spot was New England. The African stations supplied the slaves used in the West Indies and the continental colonies. The islands supplied the staple crop of sugar and the continental South that of tobacco, while the Newfoundland fisheries supplied the fish which were used in exchange for the products of Catholic countries. All these colonies consumed British manufactures and their commerce helped to build up the British merchant fleet.

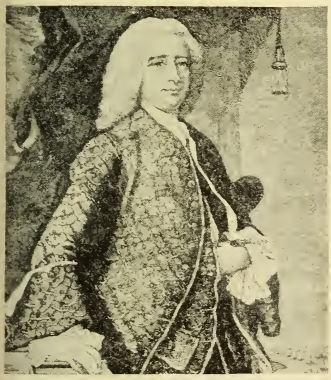
New England, however, did not fit into the scheme. Her timber could not compete with the nearer supplies from the Baltic. Her fisheries, very important to herself, competed with the English at Newfoundland. Her soil produced no staple crop and her agricultural products were identical with those of England. Her local economic crisis of 1640 had forced her people to learn to manufacture in their homes as much of their needed goods as they could. Even then she had to import far more from England than she sent to her, and thus had to find means to pay her bills of exchange. On the other hand, the sugar islands exported to the home country more than they imported, and New England began to ship provisions and lumber to them in exchange for cash. Gradually as the population, wealth and energy of New England grew, and those of the English islands declined, her



SAM ADAMS THE PROPAGANDIST

To no single man more than Samuel Adams (1722-1803), seen here in a painting by Copley, can the United States be said to owe their independence. A Boston tax collector of Puritan stock, he fomented separatist feeling by brilliant propaganda.

*From Bancroft, 'History of the United States'*



SUCCESSFUL COLONIAL GOVERNOR

William Shirley (1694-1771), appointed governor of Massachusetts in 1741, was of the less incompetent type of colonial governor. He organized the capture of Louisbourg and did much to rehabilitate the finances of the province.

*From J. R. Smith, 'British Mezzotint Portraits'*

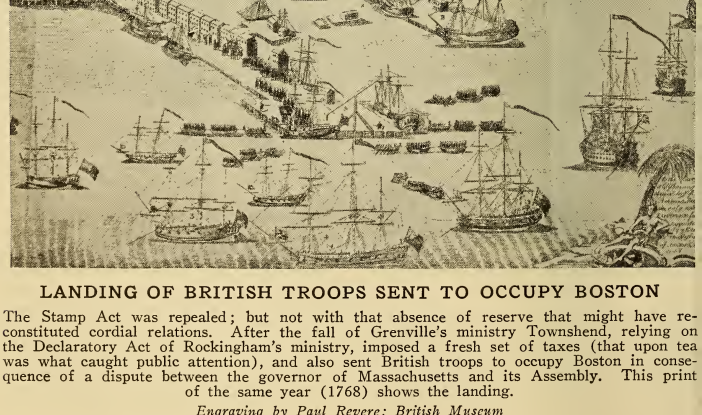
necessities called for wider trade. One of the most profitable branches of this became the three-cornered one of sending rum to Africa, buying negroes to carry to the West Indies, English and French, and selling them in exchange for molasses to be made into rum in New England distilleries.

With a few exceptions the earlier English navigation acts confined colonial

## SCENE OF THE BOSTON TEA PARTY AND OF BUNKER HILL

Resentment against the import duty on tea reached a head when a party of men disguised as Red Indians boarded certain tea freighters lying in Boston harbor and threw overboard the whole consignment, valued at £10,000. This was in 1773, while Lord North's ministry was in power. The drawing of Boston harbor above, with part of the town in the foreground, was made in 1775 by a British lieutenant, Mr. Williamson, immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill.

*British Museum*




## LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS SENT TO OCCUPY BOSTON

The Stamp Act was repealed; but not with that absence of reserve that might have reconstituted cordial relations. After the fall of Grenville's ministry Townshend, relying on the Declaratory Act of Rockingham's ministry, imposed a fresh set of taxes (that upon tea was what caught public attention), and also sent British troops to occupy Boston in consequence of a dispute between the governor of Massachusetts and its Assembly. This print of the same year (1768) shows the landing.

*Engraving by Paul Revere; British Museum*

trade to home ports, thus immensely hampering the growing commerce of the ambitious New Englanders; but trade was permitted to be carried on in ships of either English or colonial build and ownership. Ship-building became a leading industry in New England, and complaints became frequent from English merchants that New England was building up a merchant fleet at the expense of the English one, carrying on trade which should be in English hands, attempting to compete in manufacturing, hampering the English fisheries, and generally behaving as no colony should, according to the mercantilist theory. They did not point out what New Englanders could do if they did not do these things.

When laws were passed at home suppressing all colonial manufactures, even of wool from the colonists' own sheep; or when, in 1733, owing to pressure from the English West Indies, parliament passed the famous Molasses Act which struck at the very foundation of New England's trade by placing a prohibitive duty on the importation of foreign molasses, the New Englanders could not see why their economic life should be strangled for the sake of British merchants and manufacturers or West Indian planters.

When we consider, also, the character of the New Englanders who had built up a prosperous civilization by wrestling with a Calvinistic God and the stony soil of the bleakest part of the United States, and the fact that they were the most independent of all the colonies, it is evident that if the mercantilist theory and the British Empire ever broke up, the first crack would be likely to appear in the neighborhood of Boston.

Throughout the whole colonial period, each colony maintained to a remarkable extent its own separate individuality. Their inhabitants considered themselves Rhode Islanders or Virginians, not Americans. For this reason the history of the colonies is in reality the history of thirteen separate commonwealths; and all that can be attempted here is to try to tell of some of the events which had significance for the later history of the colonies and their relations to the rest of the loose association of colonies destined to become the British Empire.

INDEPENDENT SOLDIERS

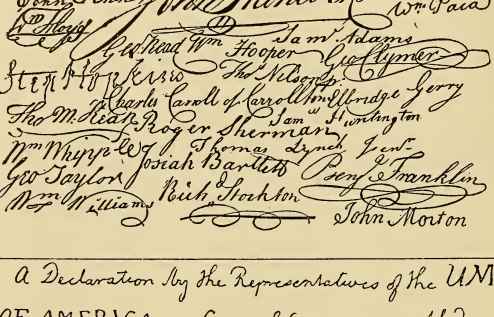
This plate giving the uniforms of the hastily raised American troops—a general (left) and a rifleman—about the date of the battle of Bunker Hill, was published in 1790.

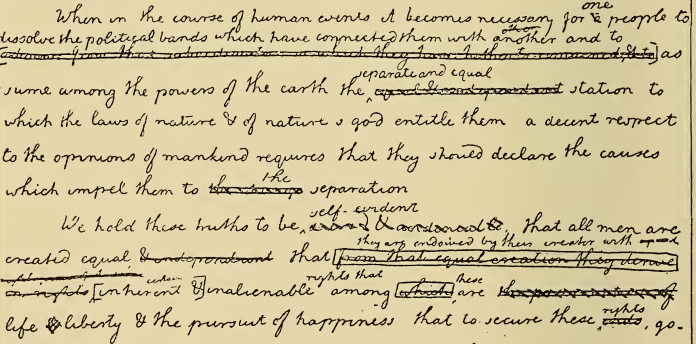
*From Barnard, 'History of England,' 1790*

The subduing of the wilderness included conquering the Indian, a savage who, with some admirable qualities, was cruel, crafty and vindictive. Unlike those of Mexico, who had attained a high degree of civilization when found by the Spaniards, those encountered by the English were still barbarians in the hunting stage. Throughout the whole period here under review, and indeed much later, the redskin was a factor to be reckoned with—whether merely fighting the colonists in defence of his dwindling hunting grounds, goaded on by the French against the English, or, in the Revolution, employed

by the English against their own revolting colonists. Although the frontier was constantly pushed farther from the shore, each generation had its sons on the firing line. The struggle bred a race of courageous fighters who were unequalled as sharpshooters. It was a warfare utterly unlike that of Europe, a war of constant night surprises on lonely cabins, of ambushes in the forest, of man to man, not of army to army. For a century and a quarter it was carried on by the Americans themselves with no assistance from England.

In fact, the Americans asked nothing better than to be let alone as far as possible. In New England they were so, to a remarkable extent, until after the Stuart



A Declaration By the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in General Congress assembled

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to ~~assume from their adversaries and which they have hitherto maintained, it is~~ as sume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal ~~equal level and independent~~ station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to ~~the causes~~ the separation

We hold these truths to be self-evident ~~sacred~~ & ~~undeniable~~ that all men are created equal ~~& independent~~ that they are endowed by their creator with ~~equal~~ ~~inherent~~ ~~inalienable~~ ~~from that equal creation they derive~~ ~~rights inherent~~ rights that among these ~~which~~ are ~~life, liberty & the pursuit of happiness~~ life & liberty & the pursuit of happiness that to secure these rights ~~ends~~, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed that whenever any form of government ~~shall~~ becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter

## DRAFT AND SIGNATURES OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

On July 4—the 'Fourth of July' kept thereafter as the great national festival—in 1776, the thirteen states in congress solemnly adopted the Declaration of Independence formulated by Thomas Jefferson. This is a facsimile of part of Jefferson's own draft, with additions in Franklin's and Adams's handwriting; the signatures of the representatives (top; the first twenty-four) were not appended to the final further modified copy writ fair on parchment until August 2.

*Facsimile of original in Patent Office, Washington*

restoration; when a more energetic colonial policy was undertaken and efforts were made throughout the colonies to reorganize colonial administration and to enforce the laws of trade. There is much to be said for a good deal of the Stuart policy, but it came too late, and when, in 1686, Sir Edmond Andros was sent over with a commission to serve as governor of New York and of a new 'Dominion of New England,' made up of a union of all the New England colonies, the wrath of the people was thoroughly kindled. They were too much attached to their several colonies, and had been allowed to govern themselves too long, tamely to submit to such a complete change in their political status without their own consent. When the Revolution occurred in England in 1689, Andros was promptly clapped in jail in Boston as representing the deposed Stuarts.

### Co-operation against French

UNDER William and Mary relations with the colonies improved. The abortive Dominion of New England was broken up, and although Massachusetts continued to receive a royal governor, the colonies in other respects returned much to their previous status, except for attempts to enforce the trade laws, attempts circumvented in all the colonies. With the opening of the new century there were several attempts at military co-operation between England and her colonies, which resulted disastrously and tended to lower the colonial opinion of the English forces.

### Successful Attempt at Co-operation

A MORE successful effort at working together occurred in the war which started in Europe in 1744. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts formed a plan to capture the fortress of Louisbourg from the French, and a combined attack was undertaken by four thousand colonials and a British fleet. It was successful, and to the unbounded joy of all America the French stronghold fell into their hands. The protection of the British fleet had been essential, but all the fighting had been done by the colonials, and they prided themselves accordingly. When at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 England returned the fortress to France, thus abandoning the colonial conquest and subjecting the Americans once more to the danger from the French, their disappointment was as unbounded as their joy had been. In the French and Indian War of the next decade the blunders of the intrepid but unteachable English general, Braddock, are too well known to need recalling. His expedition in which the youthful George Washington took part taught the colonials to despise the military efficiency of English officers.

The years of the French and Indian War left many problems to be solved. By the peace of 1763 England acquired Canada and all the French possessions lying beyond the Alleghany Mountains, but the British war debt had become a staggering load. It is impossible to give a continuous narrative of all the events which filled the next decade and finally brought Englishmen on the two sides of the ocean to the arbitrament of civil war; the story is outlined in Chronicle XXVIII. When the die for war was finally cast, John Adams estimated that one-third of the population was for it, one-third uninterested and passive, and one-third against it. The last group contained many of the wealthiest, ablest and most cultivated men in the colonies, men of the conservative type who are always opposed to violent measures. It has been estimated that over a hundred thousand of these Loyalists left the colonies voluntarily or were exiled in the course of the struggle, and this exodus, comparable only to that of the Huguenots from France, was in many respects an inestimable loss to America.

But a train of events had been set in motion, on both sides of the ocean, which it was henceforth to be beyond the power of thinking men to control. Force had been invoked and henceforth the appeal was to be to arms. On the Fourth of July, 1776, the United States of America declared themselves to be 'free and independent,' and, in spite of six years of war yet to be passed through, the colonial period had come to an end.

# CLASSICISM IN LITERATURE AND ART

## A DISCUSSION OF ITS CANONS IN POETRY AND THE DRAMA WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF ITS EFFECT ON THE PLASTIC ARTS

By C. H. HERFORD, Litt.D. F.B.A.

*Honorary Professor of English Literature at the University of Manchester; Author of the Age of Wordsworth, etc.*

Classicism is the name now commonly given to a body of literary and artistic doctrines, with a corresponding code of practice, which for some two centuries (1550-1750) held wide authority in western Europe. It had its origin in the vast, many-sided intellectual upheaval known as the Renaissance, or humanism. The fundamental inspiration of the Renaissance was defined by Michelet, in a famous phrase, as 'the discovery of the World and of Man.' In that process of discovery the richer and deeper understanding of the antique or 'classic' world held the most important place. Even Columbus and Copernicus, though they traversed more uncharted seas, and more completely revolutionized existing creeds, did less to transform and recreate the human spirit than the discoverers of Athens.

Athens, however, spoke with many voices; and some of those which were to penetrate most deeply into the modern mind were the most easily misinterpreted or over-heeded. Hence it happened that 'classicism,' which proclaimed 'imitation of the classics' as the sole but sufficing secret of rightness in poetry and art, took its dominant examples, in fact, from a rather narrow selection of the ancient writers, the choice itself reflecting certain pronounced preferences and exclusions; a demand, in particular, for clarity, simplicity, symmetry; a repudiation of the loose composition and caprice of the medieval romance. It was from this antagonism, unmistakable from the first, that the antithesis of 'classical' and 'romantic,' a commonplace of nineteenth-century criticism but unknown before, was ultimately derived.

The center of antique culture, and the first home of Greek study, was Italy, where the familiar use of Latin had never died out. And it was by a series of great Italian critics that the theory and technique of classicism were first elaborated into a system, while the first poem of European celebrity which is both noble as poetry and definitely impressed with the conceptions of classicism was the work of an Italian poet—the Jerusalem Delivered of Torquato Tasso.

Tasso had a definite theory, drawn from Homer and Aristotle, of what an epic poem ought to be. It had above all to be one, a single action, with a beginning, middle and end; not a lively tangle of adventures, but a connected, organic whole. But further, because the Iliad is founded upon the siege of Troy, it had to describe a similar conflict between rival nations. And because the Iliad represented the gods and goddesses of Olympus taking part in the war on either side, a like interposition of supernatural powers was de rigueur for the perfect epic poem.

Tasso's subject is the siege and 'liberation' of Jerusalem from the Saracens by Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the First Crusade. The Christian and Saracen armies stood for the Greeks and Trojans, and Heaven and Hell for the contending divinities of Olympus. The Jerusalem Delivered is the first of classicist epics; but, like Paradise Lost, the greatest, it presents classicist ideals not so much reflected in, as refracted through, the individual genius of an original poet.

But Tasso, apart from his creative work in poetry, took a leading part in building up the edifice of classicist theory. Modern literary criticism, in this sense, practically began with classicism: the armed guard, as it were, of a literature which, though it did not disclaim inspiration, was careful

to be inspired according to 'the rules.' It is necessary, then, to glance at the nature of these authoritative rules. They had their source in a particular application of the general principle of imitations of the ancients, namely, imitation of the ancient critics, and above all of Aristotle and Horace. Aristotle, in particular, was regarded as an infallible dictator; nay, the Catholic Church itself, in council assembled at Trent, in 1542, formally placed his teaching on the footing of a dogma incumbent on the orthodox.

Now Aristotle performed one memorable service to literary criticism, and not to that of classicism only. By his doctrine that the aim of poetry is 'ideal truth,' he broke down both the ancient condemnation of poetry as 'falsehood' and the shallow apology for it as a pleasing fiction. The poet, he said, imitates an ideal or universalised actuality, which may be, as Shelley said, 'more real than living man.' The poet creates as nature creates, and his work, as an ideal abstraction of reality, is itself fundamentally real.

But this lofty conception held pitfalls which Aristotle himself scarcely escaped, and into which his classicist devotees tumbled headlong. Even his definition of poetry as imitation was not easily applied to lyirc poetry, or to the lyric moods frequent in all great poets. Aristotle, accordingly, and Horace far more, though

**THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL: CLASSICISM AT ITS BEST**

Inigo Jones (1573-1651) studied Palladio's architectural work in Italy and introduced the style into England. In 1612 he was commissioned by James I to design a new palace at Whitehall. His Banqueting House, intended as one side of a quadrangle that was never completed, was erected in 1622 and is the only portion of the palace that survived the fires of 1698. The façade with its two orders of Ionic and Composite pillars superimposed is a satisfying specimen of classicism in building.

*Photo, Donald McLeish*

they had access to a vast amount of literature, now lost, judged it with less width of critical sympathy than we have to-day.

An even more questionable deduction from Aristotle's teaching, though it was fraught with noble and splendid possibilities as well as with fatal dangers, was the doctrine that poetry, like philosophy,

EPIC POET OF THE RENAISSANCE

Torquato Tasso (1544-95) established his reputation with the narrative poem Rinaldo, enhanced it with the pastoral drama Aminta, and crowned it with the stately epic Jerusalem Delivered: it was first published in 1581.

is based upon and must be regulated by reason.

Classical literature in contrast with the fairies and giants of medieval romance, appeared conspicuously rational and natural. Hence the injunction to 'follow reason' early crept into close association with the primary command to imitate the ancients; and it was not long before the useful ally usurped the throne, and the conviction that the ancient poets had followed reason became the final justification for imitating them at all.

This conclusion did profound injustice to the imaginative scope of ancient literature as a whole. But it also warped and stiffened the theory of classicism by making certain plausible but illusory dogmas appear to be axiomatically true. Such was the dogma that in every poetic art, as in arithmetic or logic, there is only one way of being right. In epic, tragedy, comedy, as in doing a sum, there was only one infallible course. This one right way, moreover, the ancients had in general found, so that to imitate them was a safe clue to its discovery.

It is easy to see the grave dangers for poetry which this course involved. The uniformity demanded by reason necessarily, in pedantic hands, became a weapon against legitimate freedom of imagination. In drama and epic, especially, it told against the flexible handling of character, and crushed the attempt to illustrate in art the varieties and fluctuations of mood and temper of which everyone is aware in real life. More than that, it crushed the attempt to exhibit unusual or original characters. Not only had men, as Polonius so justly demanded, to be true to themselves; they had to be true to their class, to behave like the normal person of the same rank, occupation, age and sex.

Old men, as Horace had laid down, were invariably to glorify the good old days; women, as Aristotle said in his haste, ignoring Antigone and Alcestis (and how many more!), were not to be brave. Nay, Homer himself could on occasion be brought to the bar for critical reprimand, so far could reason and decorum now override even the imitation of the classics from which they were supposed to be derived. For a character had not only to be true to type in its own speech and actions, he must not be brought into any unseemly situation or even into the figurative suggestion of one. And had not the poet of the Iliad actually compared one of his mightiest heroes, Ajax, slowly retreating before the host of Trojans whom he holds at bay, to a donkey being thrust and driven from a field by a crowd of boys? Once more, we see classicism rejecting the large comprehensiveness of classical poetry in the name of the symmetry and order which, for better or worse, it was to make its own.

But even more significant for the future was another discovery of classicist criticism, which concerned the second great

branch of classical art, the drama. Of all the canons of classicism, that of the three dramatic 'unities' has had the most splendid and the most stormy fortunes. Embraced with ardor and conviction by France when she became the intellectual mistress of Europe, the 'unities' were adopted wherever her influence extended, and hotly debated wherever it was insecure. Rejected by the Spaniards and the Elizabethans, they invaded England with the Restoration, were honored by Dryden, accepted by Addison, and only came in sight of the final débâcle when Dr. Johnson, after a struggle with his ingrained prejudices, defended Shakespeare for having left them alone.

Aristotle, even to-day popularly credited with their authorship, propounded only the one which still remains profound and fundamental—the so-called 'unity of action.' It ruled out plays founded on a 'unity of person'—representing the career of a hero, or, like many of Shakespeare's Histories, the events of a reign. The plot (as in epics) had not to be a series of adventures, however thrilling, but a single action with a definite beginning, middle and end.

Aristotle's own ideal was the plot of the Sophoclean Oedipus the King, from every point of view one of the supreme tragedies in all literature. Here we are carried with inflexible rigor of logic from the opening scene where Oedipus begins the search for the offender whose guilt has brought upon the city the anger of the gods, to the overwhelming close where he faces the discovery that the guilty offender is himself. The whole life of Oedipus, from his birth to his self-inflicted blindness, is in the drama; but all that happens in it, up to this climax, is the process by which it is gradually elicited. The horrible events finally disclosed had happened many years before; it was the discovery of the unconscious culprit and victim that made the tragedy. But of course the tragic events might equally happen in a single swift sequence, as in the Antigone, and most of the other extant ancient tragedies. And all Shake-

**ITALIAN SCULPTURE IN THE NEO-CLASSIC REVIVAL: CANOVA**

After its apogee, to which Michelangelo's genius raised it, Italian sculptural art declined and for the next two centuries was marred by academic conventionalism and by extravagance of design. From these mannerisms it was delivered by Antonio Canova (1757-1822), who produced a vast amount of work, of exquisite finish if rather artificial. His return to the classic tradition is exemplified in his Perseus with the Head of Medusa (left) and the effigy of Pauline Bonaparte as Venus Victrix.

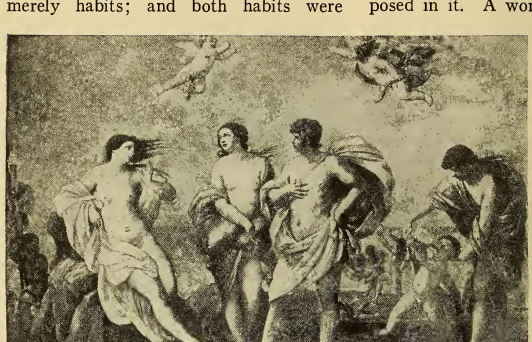
*The Vatican and Villa Borghese, Rome*

speare's greatest tragedies, too, observe the unity of action, though he may have known and cared nothing for Aristotle, and though his 'single' action may be a complex and protracted affair.

It is quite otherwise with the other two unities. The 'unity of time,' which required action to be limited to twenty-four hours, and the 'unity of place,' which required it to happen in or near the same spot, were purely classicist dogmas.

At Athens these had never been dogmas, merely habits; and both habits were occasionally broken, not only by the revolutionary Euripides (as in the Heracleidae), but by the master of harmonious order, Sophocles (in the Ajax), without any recorded cry of protest. Nevertheless it was reserved for the Italian and French classicists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, first to crystallise these habits, together with the one great authentic law, into a three-fold formula, as the Three Unities, and finally to give this triad, clothed in the authority of the unconscious Aristotle, the sanctity of an infallible and universally binding creed, without observance of which no drama and no dramatist could be saved.

A far more brilliant destiny awaited classicism in France. It was in the main the ideas of Descartes, and the standards of courtesy and convention of which Paris was the seat, that determined the character and influence of that French influence which radiated for little short of a century (roughly from 1660-1760) across all her frontiers in varying degrees. And whether it crossed the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine or the English Channel, its most eloquent medium and advocate was the verse polished and refined by classicist art, and the poems and dramas composed in it. A word must then be said about these two factors of French classicism.

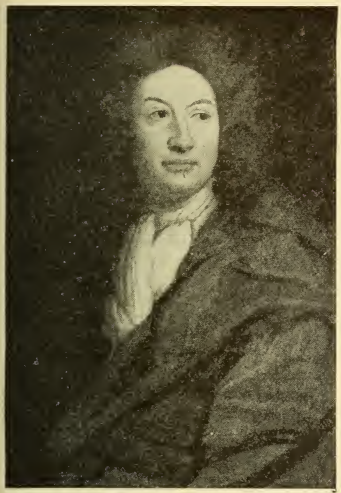


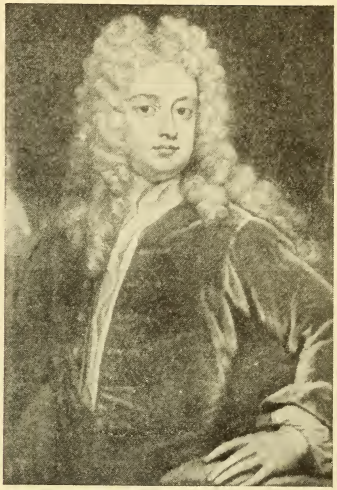
**RENAISSANCE SPIRIT IN FRENCH ART**

Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) broke away from the conventions of the native French art of his day, which was purely decorative, and subscribed to the principles of classic art. He painted a large variety of works—landscapes and subject pictures Christian and pagan. His Bacchus and Ariadne is representative of this last class.

Descartes wrote his Discourse of Method, one of the most lucid and beautiful of philosophic essays, in 1637. He was bent, however, not upon beautiful writing, but upon the discovery of truth; and his method of discovery was by 'clear and distinct' thought. Thought, to be efficient, he argued, had to proceed by definite logical steps; the mind had to be cleared of fancy, of mysticism, of the confusions of the senses, of prejudice and passion. It is easy to see how this exaltation of pure intelligence bore upon literature, even where the aim was not to discover truth but to carry home an argument or to construct a poem or a play. It made for sequence and symmetry, denying beauty to whatever infringed them. It made again for the abstract and universal in expression, for general terms, which can be understood, rather than particular ones, which have to be mechanically remembered. It gave a philosophical glamor, easily mistaken for literary distinction, to the style in which 'an agricultural implement' takes the place of 'a spade.'

Italy had already discovered that to





LITERARY LEADERS IN ENGLAND'S AUGUSTAN AGE

Second only to Milton as a poet in the style of the seventeenth century, a dramatist of merit and a brilliant satirist in verse, John Dryden, 1631-1700 (left), was also a literary critic of the first rank. While definitely belonging to the classical school of poetry he did much, both in precept and example, to free English literature from the fetters of academic pedantry. Joseph Addison (1672-1719) is the master of the light essay, but his critical papers in The Spectator have permanent value.

*Paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller; National Portrait Gallery, London (left)*

imitate antiquity and to follow reason were the same thing. But France fortified this general appeal to reason with a more subtle, persuasive and far-reaching doctrine, which not only contributed to the unique splendor of French classicism, but also insensibly shifted its focus, narrowed its horizon and hastened its decay. It was to the intoxication of Cartesian rationalism, with its disdain for the natural world, which was devoid of reason, and for history, which had preceded Descartes, that classicism owed its disdain for nature, in our sense of the word, and for the past, including in the end antiquity itself. Pope's famous line, 'The proper study of mankind is man,' ascribed too wide a scope to the interests of classicism. If 'Man' was mankind's 'proper study,' it was not merely man to the exclusion of bird and beast and mountain, but man exclusively in civilized, and in the main in contemporary, society.

This preoccupation with contemporary society is, of course, unmistakable in Pope himself. But with the great French classicists, to whose stimulus he owed so much, contemporary society was not only a preoccupation, it was a moulding force upon their art. The society of Paris during the fifty years of Louis XIV's rule (1661-1715) upheld a standard of breeding, good taste and social intercourse which satisfied the instincts of the most refined and cultivated portion of this society, while it was also enforced by the authority and example of the 'Roi Soleil' himself. The very spirit of this society was the 'sociality' which only exceptional societies achieve or enjoy; the animated but not aggressive talk of good company, where all present understand one another.

Every kind of individual excess or defect which disturbs or embarrasses or degrades the free and lively play of mind upon mind in social converse infringed a code, the nicety of which we can judge from the sketches of such offenders left us

by shrewd and caustic observers like La Bruyère.

Corneille, whose work was done before the accession of Louis XIV, moved restively in the harness of the unities, all of which he supposed to have been enjoined by Aristotle, and his idea of tragedy, as a drama intended to excite admiration for the hero rather than pity and terror, was more in keeping with Spain and her heroic romance of the Cid (the subject of his first famous play) than with the profounder and graver mind of Athens.

DR. JOHNSON 'IN HIS HAIR'

In the intellectual world of his age Samuel Johnson (1709-84) was dictator, his every utterance on literary matters having the weight of imperial edicts. This portrait of him, without his wig, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

Molière (d. 1673), though already formed when the reign of Louis began, made comedy an incomparable vehicle and weapon of the common sense in which Meredith saw the essence of the comic spirit; and his brilliant exposures of affectations and pedantries gave the immortality of art to the delicate 'justesse' of the society whose mind, at its best, he expressed.

But what is richest and deepest in Molière (see page 3860) goes beyond the reach both of that society and of classicist art itself. La Fontaine, finally, breaks wholly away from the Cartesian and classicist disdain for the sub-human world; the one man of his day who had an eye for the 'nature' of beast and bird.

### Racine and Boileau

Two great writers, however, at least, represent in full measure French classicism in this its culminating age. Racine showed that the rules of classicist technique—the confined time and place, the limited play of character, the abstract style and vocabulary—could be, for a certain type of genius, not fetters but tools. He showed that the whole tragic consequences of one pregnant moment may be unfolded in a few hours; that the subtlest depths of character may be explored and exhibited without suggesting a single abnormal or eccentric trait; and that a scene or a situation may be vividly evoked by an apt use of quite colorless and abstract words.

Boileau, finally, was the critical legislator of French classicism. He saw no farther than its boundaries, but within its limits he was a critic of the first rank. His Satires disposed finally of the feebler devotees of classicism as well as of its heretical opponents. He checked even Racine and Molière when they fell below the level of their best selves. The book in which he expounded the classicist doctrine of the Poetic Art (1674) is itself an imposing monument of didactic verse. Like all his school except La Fontaine, he was blind to the springs of poetry which lie, for other eyes, in the sub-human world. But his idea, if narrow, was noble; and it was in the name of the 'pure gold of Vergil' that he condemned the 'tinsel' of Tasso, as it was in the name of the consummate Misanthrope that he professed not to recognize his friend Molière in the buffooneries of the Fourberies de Scapin.

Boileau died in 1711. In the same year was published in London a brilliant summary, in pellucid couplets, of Boileau's critical ideas. Alexander Pope was still a young man of twenty-three; but his Essay on Criticism became at once for literary London the final code of judgment upon poetic art. Classicism was not new in England. Its ideas had been introduced to the Elizabethan world, a hun-

dred and thirty years before by Sir Philip Sidney, and fortified, a generation later, by the massive erudition and formidable polemics of Ben Jonson. In another art Jonson's colleague and rival, Inigo Jones, attempted to graft upon English architecture and purer and perhaps nobler classicism of his master Palladio. A few plays, on the austerest classicist model, issued from the aristocratic circle of Sidney's sister. But classicism made no impression on the Elizabethan mind. The greater dramatists evolved a superb technique of their own far nearer in spirit to Aristotle than to his classicist interpreters.

After the Restoration the French classicist drama began to be a power in England, and Molière was freely adapted and imitated; but Dryden, while favoring a stricter continuity and coherence for the English drama, made choice fun of the straits to which his French contemporaries were driven by compliance with the 'rules.' Pope, then, when he came forward as a legislator for poets and critics, eleven years after Dryden's death, had not, like Boileau, a great national creative movement behind and about him, of which he was only, as it were, stating the formula. On the contrary, the body of English tradition and the bias of English character and temperament ran in another, larger and freer, channel.

**BOILEAU: FRENCH CRITICAL DICTATOR**

Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711) published satires on classic models, and in his prose Dialogue des Héros de Roman attacked the romantic novel. His best known work is L'Art poétique, inspired by Horace's Ars Poetica.

*Bust by Girardon in the Louvre; photo, Giraudon*

**POPE: POET AND ARCH-CRITIC**

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) published his Essay on Criticism in 1711. It was intended to be a codification of contemporary opinions on the poet's aims and the critic's duties, and was universally accepted as authoritative.

*Crayon drawing in the Bodleian Library*

This is not to say that Pope's legislative essay was a futile caprice, which carried no weight and found no response. It expressed with brilliant and final precision the temper and ideals of the contemporary English mind. But classicism was, in the history of the English mind, a passing mood, a mood of extreme vivacity but little depth, whereas in the French mind it reflected a profound and enduring strain. And the vivacity of English classicism was mainly due to one man, its critical legislator, Pope himself.

In the England of Queen Anne, and wherever else classicism won critical authority, the belief that all art was to be produced and measured by a single invariable standard was coupled with the assurance that this standard was already

known and accessible. In Augustan England, as elsewhere, this assurance led to a mischievous idolatry of passing modes. In some forms of art Pope came near to satisfying a standard eternally true; The Rape of the Lock can never lose its fragile but immortal charm. But in judging the greater kinds of poetry he and his age did not distinguish the eternal light of nature from the glamor of stylistic idols of their own.

The brief splendor of classicist poetry in the age of Anne was scarcely paralleled in the history of eighteenth-century classicism elsewhere. In Germany still groping blindly towards a destiny which only the solitary genius of Leibniz as yet foretold, Gottsched, 'the German Boileau,' proclaimed a dull and second-hand replica of the drama and criticism of Paris. In the young literature of Denmark, on the other hand, Molière found his only disciple of genius in Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754). Spain, which had once inspired Corneille, now in her decadence feebly copied Molière and Racine. Italy, the mother of humanist art and letters, had abandoned herself in the seventeenth century to the literary vices which French classicism had in France driven into obscurity and ill repute. Maffei's tragedy of Merope (1713), with Addison's contemporary Cato, are the only famous survivors of classicist drama out of France, until, towards the close of the century, we encounter the splendid but isolated aftermath of Alfieri.

Even in France herself, the great age of the great king ended with the century. Voltaire, the presiding genius of French letters for fifty years, led the revolt of French intellect against the political and religious social dogmas which had dominated the age of French classicism, and had so deeply colored its art. If Voltaire became the one worthy successor to Racine, the classicist drama, in his hands, with all its brilliance, was an artificial survival, only less out of date than the duller Elfrida's and Irene's with which the age of Johnson still did homage to the unities of the drama. And Voltaire himself, the most brilliant of all eighteenth-century advocates of classicism, contributed vitally to loosen its grip upon Europe. For it was he who first discovered to the Continent the drama of Shakespeare.

Two capital, and almost contemporary, events mark the decisive inception of the European revolt against classicism. The first was the publication of Giovanni Battista Vico's New Science, in 1725. The second was Voltaire's discovery, just noticed, of Shakespeare (1728), followed by his proclamation of the merits of the 'barbarian of genius' a little later in his Letters on the English.

The history of romanticism, in which these are two decisive landmarks, belongs to Chapter 161. Here it must suffice to say that Vico attacked the very foundation of classicist theory by declaring, in effect, that not reason but imagination, not clear intelligence or 'good sense' but instinctive intuition, were the source and test of poetry. At the same time a whole poetic literature of challenging splendor and richness, the creation, as was then supposed, of an untaught, child-like genius, came suddenly into view in the work of Shakespeare. But the two streams of kindred thought and influence thus set going long flowed apart; Vico's ideas percolated slowly across the Alps, while in Italy Shakespeare for several decades remained merely a name. In the profounder and more sensitive conception and theory of poetry evolved in the course of the century by the critics and poets of England and Germany, both had a vital share. By that revolution, classicism, in the specific sense, was finally dethroned.

# THOUGHT AND THINKERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY IN A TRANSITION AGE OF MANY-SIDED PROGRESS

RT. HON. J. M. ROBERTSON, P.C.

*Author of 'A short History of Free Thought,' 'Pioneer Humanists,' 'Gibbon,' etc.*

BEFORE its close the eighteenth century was generally recognized by open-minded people as the most variously progressive in all history. In France, it opens with the consummated autocracy of Louis XIV, and closes with the "general overturn" of the Revolution. In England, a very different evolution begins under the new constitutionalism of William III and Anne, and that political system broadly stands firm at the century's close. But in both countries there had taken place a mental evolution which remains lastingly significant.

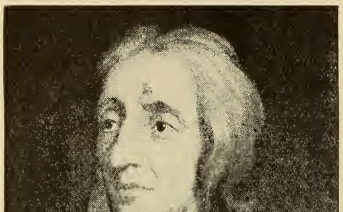
At the outset, it is in England that the intellectual life of the new century is most active. The philosophy of Locke is the outstanding thing in the world of serious thought for the first half of the century; and Locke served from the first to form a kind of philosophic background for a remarkably various output of newer thought, theological and anti-theological, ethical, social, economic and political.

EVERYTHING seemed to be in the melting-pot at once. The fanaticism of the Cromwellian period had elicited, by reaction, on the one hand the new movement of groping science represented by the Royal Society; and on the other new audacities in critical literature, including the beginnings of anti-scriptural deism at the hands of such writers as Blount and Toland, before the century was out. Politics were in the tempestuous whirl presented to us by Macaulay. All manner of new political problems had to be faced; and Locke himself, before emerging as a systematic philosopher, had figured as politician, fighting a fine battle for tolerance (in three "Letters," 1689-92). That, with his "Two Treatises of Government" (1689-90), won him well-paid governmental posts under the new king, and would have secured him an ambassadorship had he cared to take it.

In his "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" he sets himself, by business-like analysis, to ascertain first the powers of the mind to reach tested truth, thus making, as it were, psychology the basis and gist of the whole. Like all sane philosophers, he proceeded by way of development of previous thought, and he sets out on lines laid by Descartes and Hobbes, but he gave to all philosophic thought a new practical lead in the direction of actuality. It might be said of him, as of Socrates, that he brought down philosophy from the skies to the street. Hazlitt, who accused him of "stealing" his philosophy from Hobbes, yet admits that he won for it a universal hearing. Voltaire's eulogy of "that cautious anatomy of the human understanding, that blind man's staff which supported the walk of the modest Locke as he sought his way and found it," well expresses his service. Thenceforth all *a priori* doctrine, including his own, was under the constant challenge of criticism.

WHEN Locke died, in 1704, new critical impulses were germinating in many heads. Thus the third earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) published in 1711 a collection of treatises entitled "Characteristics of Men, Manners, Times," one of the famous books of the age, whose burden is that moral principles are spontaneous in Man, that Nature is the work of a benevolent omnipotence, and that revealed religion may rather hinder than help men's bias to good. A very different spirit from Shaftesbury, Bernard Mandeville, born

of French stock and educated in Holland, but effectively naturalized in England, where he practised all his life as a physician, produced in 1705 a Hudibrastic poem entitled "The Grumbling Hive," *à propos* of the political crisis of the hour. This served as the germ and nucleus of a compilation entitled "The Fa-



**LOCKE THE TOLERANT**

John Locke lived and wrote in the latter part of the seventeenth century—he was born in 1632 and died in 1704—but his thought had abiding influence on the age that succeeded him. All his writings are tinged with calm reasonableness and love of truth.

*After the painting by Thos. Gibson*

ble of the Bees," which has been unfairly entitled an "optimism of immorality" in contrast with the moral optimism that underlay the whole of Shaftesbury's treatises.

As against Shaftesbury, Mandeville is "the spirit who denies," professing to censure Shaftesbury for lack of religion, but really seeking to bring all issues to the tests of actual human nature. Apart from his paradox that "private vices [in particular, luxury and love of gain] are public benefits," Mandeville is a kind of practical sociologist, finding the roots of law and morals and religion in primitive human needs and utilities.

Thus there was already on foot in England, early in the century, a new and searching debate on the nature of morals, in which, from the outset, a number of divines took part. Amongst the chief of these was Bishop Berkeley (1685-1753), who was not only a devout Christian but the most brilliant theistic philosopher of his age. Proceeding from Locke's standpoint as to ideas, and partly also on Locke's lines, he turned his subtle intelligence to the construction of a new theistic philosophy which should re-establish religion and morals, both being regarded by him as in a corrupt and declining state. His philosophy was, as he called it in his "Commonplace Book," "the immaterial hypothesis."

He did not, as was supposed by Johnson and Byron, flatly deny the "existence of matter"; expressly, if inconsistently, he insisted on the reality of things as perceived by "the vulgar." What he denied was the long-standing doctrine, ancient and modern, of the unreality of all the known forms of matter, and the idealistic inference that under all those forms there exists a "sub-stantia," a primordial and archetypal "substance," which cannot be known to sense. That philosophic theory had been the creation of thinkers impressed by the transiency of all perceptible things, and seeking in abstraction a "something permanent." Inasmuch, however, as that conception seemed to involve the assumption of an eternal and uncreated universe, which from Aristotle onwards tended to undermine practical theism, Berkeley rejected it as fundamentally irreligious. For him there was no difficulty in the conception of creation out of nothing.

But while professing to insist on the reality of things sensible as did "the vulgar," Berkeley propounded what was for the vulgar a virtual negation of matter, since he insisted that all the things perceived as real "exist only" in the minds of the perceivers; if we suppose an object to have existed before us, or to exist after us or in our absence, we are really thus perceiving it in thought. The proposition is, in sum, the mere truism that we can think of things, as existing, only by thinking of them. That is simply the statement of the psychic fact, carrying no logical inference. No verbal or formal inference can be more certain than our certitude that things subsist while we are asleep, did subsist

before our birth, and will subsist after our death. Berkeley, therefore, was but brilliantly spinning a verbal cobweb.

Before Hume, the only contemporary theological thinker who vies with Berkeley in general power and personal weight is Bishop Joseph Butler (1692-1752), whose "Fifteen Sermons preached at the Chapel of the Rolls Court" (1726), and "The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature" (1736), still rank as classics. Butler, like Berkeley, was deeply disturbed by the spread of aggressive disbelief in the Bible, and set himself to oppose it, in "The Analogy," by the plea that by analogy men may naturally expect in revelation the kind of perplexities that they find in the scheme of Nature, considered as that of a benevolent Providence.

BISHOP BERKELEY

George Berkeley (1685-1753), bishop of Cloyne in County Cork, was the founder of the Idealistic philosophy and ranks as the greatest theistic thinker of his age. When concerned with the world of sense he showed zeal as a missionary-philanthropist.

Our next eminent figure in the line of British thinkers is David Hume (1711-76), who might be said to exhibit in philosophy a Scottish temperament, as distinct from those of the English Locke and the Irish Berkeley. Yet a deep desire for literary fame withheld him from the pursuits to which his pecuniary position would otherwise have inclined him; and at the age of twenty-eight he produced the anonymous "Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental [i.e. experiential] Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects" (1739-40), which has admittedly been the most influential philosophic work of its century. Hume proceeds on a knowledge of both Locke and Berkeley, but says little about them beyond (1) challenging Locke as to "innate" tendencies, (2) dividing his "ideas" into "impressions and ideas," and (3) warmly adopting Berkeley's "sceptical" argument against abstract ideas.

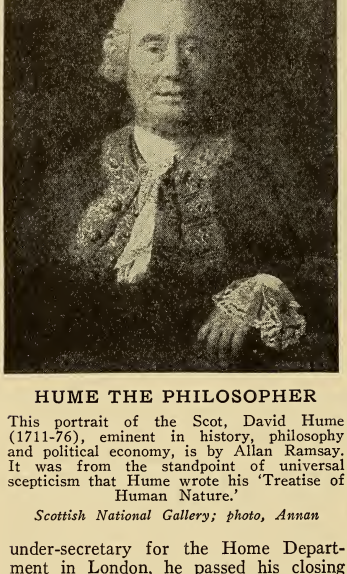
Of his own positions on the side of the philosophy of mind, the principal are (1) his doctrine that our knowledge of causation is solely a matter of inference from unvarying experience, and (2) his contention that the mind itself is but a series of "impressions and ideas." The latter is a turning against Berkeley of his own procedure. If objects exist for us only as and in our ideas of them, equally our ideas exist only as successive experiences; and there is no more trustworthy knowledge of "mind" or personality as such than of objects. After some years Hume recast his "Treatise" into "An Inquiry Concerning the Human Understanding" (1748) and "An Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals" (1752).

Hume's view of life is sufficiently revealed in his "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion," published posthumously in 1779, one of the few model dialogues in which nobody gets everything his own way, the chief disputants (theist and sceptic) in turn scoring hits and making concessions. But in the end, under cover of a formal recommendation of the theist's case, the reader is left with a strong inference that Hume's own final position was what today would be termed agnostic.

We gather that he considered theism so far conformable to "experience" and probability that, though open to serious challenge, it might fitly be professed by a thinking man who realized the usefulness of religion in common life. To put it in his own words, he was of opinion that "the proper office of religion is to reform men's lives, to purify their hearts, to enforce all moral duties, and to secure obedience to the laws of the civil magistrate." But he had a fixed

aversion from the fanaticism of which he had seen so much at close quarters at home, and of which he wrote the history for the previous century; and to expel what he called "superstition" was as much his ideal as to turn theism to the purposes of law and order.

Librarian of the Edinburgh Faculty of Advocates (from 1752), with interludes as an embassy secretary at Paris and an



**HUME THE PHILOSOPHER**

This portrait of the Scot, David Hume (1711-76), eminent in history, philosophy and political economy, is by Allan Ramsay. It was from the standpoint of universal scepticism that Hume wrote his 'Treatise of Human Nature.'

*Scottish National Gallery; photo, Annan*

under-secretary for the Home Department in London, he passed his closing years in his native town, on good terms with all but bigots—and all along known as the author of the essay "Of Miracles" (1748).

His practical objective is indicated in his last-mentioned essay. The negative argument that causation is only an inference from uniform experience was now applied on its positive front; uniform experience is required to justify belief in any alleged process of causation: miracles are by definition solitary exceptions, therefore incredible. A miracle, he writes, may be theoretically possible, but it cannot be so proved as to be a fit foundation for a religion.

Hume's philosophic vogue, doubtless, was helped by his Toryism in politics as against his theological disrepute, and, yet further, by the marked sagacity of his thinking on economic and sociological questions. His "Natural History of Religion" opened up, clearly though loosely, new scientific views in anthropology. This turning of thought to the ends of what may be termed the "humanist" sciences as distinguished from the "natural" is characteristic of the great bulk of eighteenth-century thought.

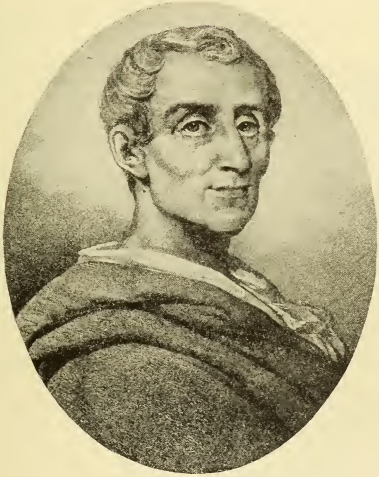
That spirit of inquiry which was to become the great characteristic of the eighteenth century, in France as in England, was first memorably impersonated in Charles Secondat, baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755). Montesquieu's importance consists in his sociological work, seen perhaps at its best in his masterly study of "The Greatness and Decadence of the Romans" (1734), but more at large in his more famous "Spirit of Laws" (1748). The seminal value of both books lay, as Buckle claimed, in their dismissal of the biographical view of history, and their concentration on what we today call the sociological view —the whole process of socio-political causation. As an intellectual stimulus Montesquieu was powerful in respect at once of the vigor of his speculation and the sparkle of his style. His admiration of the English constitution had a lasting influence on French political thought.

Economic thought progressed independently in Britain and France. The problems of English trade and of commercial politics had evoked a series of English treatises from the Caroline period onwards, the majority advocating protection and bullionism (principles implied in the phrase "the mercantilist system") even while collecting evidence of a contrary bearing. In France, where internal corn laws, hampering trade exchanges between provinces, wrought much distress, Turgot and others took up the principle which came to be generalized as "laissez faire" —"leave things alone," "let trade be free." Turgot's "Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Riches" (1766), which preceded Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" by ten years, shows

at points a deeper economic insight than is revealed by Smith's survey.

A more dogmatic theory of things culminated in the body of writings collected under the title of "Physiocratie" (1758)—a title implying that economics were reducible to the study of primary production—of which the chief inspirer was the physician Quesnay; and of that doctrine, which saw in agriculture the main economic factor, there remain distinct traces in Smith's "Wealth of Nations" (1776).

Both Hume and Smith have been disparaged by idealists of the nineteenth century as exponents of an uninspiring moral philosophy. But their fundamental utilitarianism was in keeping with the whole irresistible movement of eighteenth-century thought, which involved clerical as well as lay moralists; and their practical inference will well bear comparison with that of their theoretic antagonists. Smith, however, counted for less as a lasting force in moral than in political philosophy; his "Theory of Moral Sentiments" (1759), a study of all the reactions of sympathy on moral judgment, had in the end no such permanent status as the "Inquiry" of Hume, though it was translated into French with applause, and ran into a number of editions at home. His strength lay on the side of his study of social causation, for the "Wealth of Nations" is not merely an economic treatise but a manifold inquiry into the conditions of social change.



BARON DE MONTESQUIEU

The works of Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) embody the spirit of inquiry that characterized the eighteenth century in Western Europe, and are charged with great admiration for English institutions.

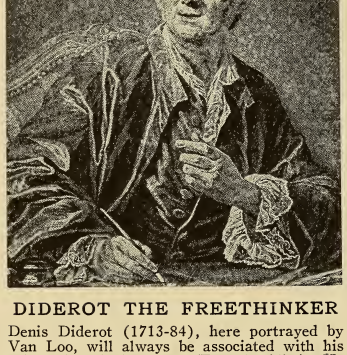
*Portrait by H. Grevedon*

The contrast between the English and French developments begins to be marked long before 1760, when Voltaire, who had been beaten by lackeys and flung into the Bastille for being a witty poet, entered the field as an active combatant against the orthodox creed, which in France grew more persecuting while in England it grew less so. Previously, the most advanced thinking on the philosophical side of things was that of Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709-51) on the one hand and the abbé Condillac and Diderot on the other. The first work of La Mettrie (1745), on "The Natural History of the Mind," was published pseudonymously at Amsterdam as a translation from an imaginary English author. It is so definitely and audaciously materialistic that to this day it has met with little patient study. Trained as a physician, La Mettrie, after some early writings on medical matters, produced his "Histoire naturelle de l'âme" as the fruit of the reflections set up by an illness.

What with his professional quarrels and his levities and audacities in this work he incurred exile, and had to take refuge at the Prussian court. The book had but a success of scandal, and its successors, "L'homme plante" and "L'homme machine" (1748), were too festively extravagant to mend matters. Only at the court of Frederick the Great, where La Mettrie was in his last years a boon companion, could such an intellectual

rebel have been safe; and even there his heedlessness of life was exceptional. His defenders admit that he lacked the seriousness of temperament requisite for science. Yet he abounds in physiological ideas, which were to be more soberly developed in the next century.

Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715-80), generally known as the abbé de Condillac, was a much more respectable person. His "Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge" (published at Amsterdam in 1746) is founded on Locke,



DIDEROT THE FREETHINKER

Denis Diderot (1713-84), here portrayed by Van Loo, will always be associated with his editorship of the great 'Encyclopédie.' He contributed many new ideas to philosophy, but his wide interests precluded perfection in any one field.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

but already takes up some new positions, notably that sensation "envelops all thought." Like Locke, he is to be regarded as primarily a psychologist, and he adhered more faithfully to his grounds, abstaining from teleology and theology. His other works include "Traité des systèmes" (1749) and "Traité des sensations" (London, 1754).

Condillac proceeds, broadly, from the ancient formula that "there is nothing in the intellect which was not previously in sense." Adhering to the formula that ideas are "transformed sensations," he stresses the transformation, though he always insists on the sensational basis. His famous illustration of the "animated statue," in which a marble figure is imagined as successively acquiring senses, and reaching reflection through them, has led some to regard him as a materialist; but it may be pointed out that he expressly denied that matter could think.

As befitted an abbé, Condillac never attacked religion. Denis Diderot (1713-84) was more drastic. At his philosophic outset, in his "Principles de la philosophie morale" (1745), which is an adaptation of Shaftesbury's "Inquiry Concerning Virtue and Merit," he professes faith in revelation; but in his "Pensées philosophiques" (printed at The Hague, 1746) he is already a deist; and in the "Promenade of the Sceptic," written about 1747 but unprinted and unprintable in his lifetime, he is already keenly critical of deism as of every other philosophical system. His ultimate position can be described only as that of atheism with a pantheistic coloring. In his "Letter on the Blind, for the Use of Those Who See" (1749), he directly assails, in an argument which he puts in the mouth of the blind English mathematician Sanderson, both the ethical and the cosmological grounds of theism. The result was that, where the "Pensées" had merely been ordered to be burned by the common hangman, the "Letter on the Blind" led to his arrest and imprisonment for six months.

In this penal policy we have part of the explanation of the divergent course of political evolution in France and England. Irreverent popular freethought in England did in that age incur persecution, but the pressure there was slight in comparison with the savage severities of the Church in France. The result was an ever-rising tide of aggressive anti-Christian polemic, which was probably heightened by the political ill-will aroused by the much-debated immunity of ecclesiastical wealth from taxation. Apart from questions of creed, the French clergy were politically in bad odor as early as 1750. Eager spirits like Diderot flung themselves into the battle in a disinterested spirit.

Diderot's work, however, was only in part "destructive." The great task of his life was the famous "Encyclopédie"

(1751-65), which he edited after the withdrawal of d'Alembert in 1758, and carried to its conclusion under heart-breaking conditions of official oppression and of treachery in the printing house. As philosopher, as psychologist, as aesthetician, he may be said to stand in the front rank for insight if not for completeness, inasmuch as he contributes new ideas or arguments in all of those fields; and as a dramatist he exerted a critical influence even when he failed as an artist.

Voltaire, with whose name that of Diderot is so constantly coupled, figures in the history of thought rather as a great fighter for intellectual freedom and sane opinion than as an original or systematic philosopher. To the last he remained a convinced deist while systematic atheism was making new headway, though his "Ignorant Philosopher" (1766) is markedly agnostic in its theism, and exhibits pantheistic leanings. Like much of the thought of the century, it tells of the seminal influence of Montaigne.

Eminently concrete in his thinking, he met the optimism of Leibniz, which declared that all is for the best in the best of possible worlds, with the dazzling humor of his "Candide," picturing the evil of the world with an unfaltering gaiety which carried its point as no stress of solemnity could. It is in his synthetic treatment of history, in his "Essai sur les mœurs" and elsewhere, that he is most definitely original in his method, and most scientific in his temper, here advancing on Montesquieu; and his "Age of Louis XIV" is a masterpiece of a new kind. After all deductions for error, he is admittedly one of the creators of modern historic thought. His "Lettres philosophiques," otherwise entitled "English Letters" (1734), so stirred opinion alike on political and on scientific issues as to make him at once an important publicist when he was already a famous poet and dramatist; and after having in his first youth been sent to the Bastille on a false charge of political incendiarism he incurred new dangers from his daring approval of the political liberty which he had seen realized in England as nowhere else in contemporary Europe.

An intense humanitarian feeling underlay all his work, and it was the persistent and merciless persecution carried on by Jesuits and Jansenists alternately that goaded him to his long campaign. Only about 1760 did he set to the work in earnest. His activity was intensified by the judicial murder of the Protestant Calas at Toulouse, and of the Catholic La Barre at Abbeville, two cases of religious crime which he so exposed as to create a new sense of justice in France.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Houdon's bronze statuette shows Rousseau exhibiting the 'social contract,' upon which he believed that political society should be based. A vastly influential thinker, Rousseau preached the doctrine that Man should return to Nature.

*From Buffenoir, 'Le Prestige de Rousseau'*

Had there been no serious persecution, Voltaire's anti-theological crusade would never have taken place. The "Infamous" which he exhorted his literary comrades to destroy was not religion, but the spirit and machinery of persecution.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), who with Voltaire and Diderot makes the famous triad of French publicists of the century, ranks as a thinker only in re-

spect of his social doctrine, and even on that side is rather a great writer than a reasoner. He mainly concerns us here as author of the "Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts" (1749), the "Discourse on the Origin and the Bases of Inequality among Men" (1753), the essay "On the Social Contract and Principles of Political Justice" (1762), and "Émile; or, On Education" (1762).

In the first we have a brilliant exposition of the old thesis that human life was at its best in a remote and absolutely unhistorical golden age of happy ignorance and simplicity, the existence of which is taken for granted. Of scientific reflection or inquiry the essay shows no trace. It was but a super-eloquent advocacy of the ever-recurring ideal of the simple life; and it had a fashionable and popular success, due to its literary charm, in an age in which the luxury of the few had certainly outrun the bounds of good life, and eloquence of style had been out of use.

The "Discourse on Inequality among Men," tracing that phenomenon solely to the institution of property, is no less superficial, if less eloquent, and its dedication to the Republic of Geneva, Rousseau's birthplace, did not increase its popularity. The reading public was not anxious to abolish property.

The "Social Contract" is a doctrine of democracy put *a priori,* with a quite illusory account of historical origins. Its thesis was ancient and familiar; what Rousseau did was to clothe it with fiery eloquence, in a richly harmonious prose, for a new reading public grown conscious of the hurt given to self-respect by all autocratic government and naturally aspiring to the measure of self-rule seen in action in England. He thus did much to create the temper which a generation later precipitated the Revolution.

His fervid personality no less than his literary power gave him a really constructive influence in respect of the new educational ideals which he propounded in "Émile." In particular, he created or fostered a new appreciation of the claims of women, earlier emergences of feminism having come to nothing. After the close of the Napoleonic wars there was already recognizable in England a new activity in female education; and this, as well as the forward movement of education in general, is in large measure ascribable to Rousseau's influence.

A very different mind and temperament from Rousseau's are seen in d'Alembert (1717-83), the distinguished mathematician, secretary to the Académie and the first editor of the "Encyclopédie." It was after winning high status by a long and brilliant series of original mathematical and scientific papers that he contributed to the "Encyclopédie" an admirable Preliminary Discourse, which he read to the Académie on the day of his reception as a member, in 1754, and which constituted him a guide and leader in the whole cultural movement of the time. None excelled him in range of knowledge, none in the charm and goodness of character which won for him the affection of Diderot and Voltaire; and only one man of science excelled him in literary gift.

This rival was George Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707-88), who belongs to the history of thought in respect of the original ideas which he expounded in his famous "Natural History" (1749-67), a work which for the first time gave literary splendor to its manifold theme. Inevitably unequal in scientific value as to its parts, it set newly afloat the two great conceptions of a connected series of forms through the entire animal kingdom, and of the possibility of the development of new species under compelling changes of environment. But the compulsion put upon him by the Sorbonne in 1751 to retract formally what he had written in his earlier volumes on the age of the earth, registers the stage of cultural history then reached in France.

In 1770 the general campaign of freethought had reached a point at which the heresies of Buffon were negligible. The naturalized Baron d'Holbach, who for a whole decade had been carrying on, anonymously, a series of frontal attacks on the Christian creed, then published a "System of Nature" which expounded an atheistic philosophy with a confidence and energy that roused the aged Voltaire to come to the defence of deism against this attack from the left wing. Such books were still burned publicly by the Church; but after the fall of the Jesuits

in 1764 its power even to suppress books was lessened, and Holbach, a rich and hospitable man of the world, was never personally molested.

His "Système" was acclaimed, indeed, by the advanced minority of freethinkers in France, but it neither converted the general body of deists, themselves a minority of the middle and upper classes, nor received notice at the hands of the later writers of philosophic status, though it had many critics. France was now in the vortex of revolution, and such new thinking as was done in the remaining years of the century was confronted with a nascent intellectual revolution, by which all new thought was antagonized.

On the other hand, some of the most suggestive contributions by Frenchmen to the mental sciences in the generation before the Revolution had made little or no effective impression on even the emancipated minds of that age. Among such contributions were the essay of Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757) on the "Origin of Fables" (printed 1758), and that of Charles de Brosses, president of the Parlement of Burgundy, "On the Worship of Fetish Gods" (1760)—the first scientific use of the term "fetish." These treatises between them offered a foundation for a scientific study of the evolution of mythology and religion, but they were not in that age assimilated, and the learned and able work of Dupuis on "The Origin of All Cults," which appeared at the height of the Revolution, was the less well built on that account.

While France was thus in many directions advancing or stimulating scientific thought, Britain continued to maintain a larger output of serious philosophy. David Hartley, an earnestly pious and benevolent physician, published in 1749 "Observations on Man, his Fame, his Duty, and his Expectations," which may be described as a work of Christian materialism, determinism and semi-utilitarianism, clamped to a religious doctrine no less intensely pietistic or less visionary than that of William Law. Greater weight attaches, in philosophic history, to the work of Professor Thomas Reid (1710-92), successively of Aberdeen and Glasgow, who historically ranks as the founder of the "Common Sense" school.

In 1775 the Unitarian Dr. Priestley, who had attained a fame in science that has proved more solid than that he acquired as a student of early Christian history, made a stringent attack on Reid, but Reid's influence remained very considerable throughout the next generation. The "Common Sense" school offered a ground of union for those who had begun to crave the fuller use of the

THOMAS ROBERT MALTHUS

Political economy was the life-study of Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), author of 'Essay on the Principle of Population.' The treatise, violently attacked and frequently misunderstood, aroused great discussion.

*Engraving by Fournier after portrait by John Linnell*

inductive method, in accord with the practice of science, but greatly preferred a "safe" kind of realism, coupled with orthodoxy in religion, to a sceptical method which had led to the dialectical triumph of Hume.

This temper was efficiently represented on the side of ethics by Archdeacon Paley, whose "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy" (1785) represented, under strictly orthodox auspices, the utilitarian drift which had been proceeding through the century. Paley's services to the Church in his long popular "View of the Evidences of Christianity"

(1794), which in turn was an efficient selection and arrangement of the arguments that had been used to resist the deistic attack, did not suffice to ward off censure of his utilitarianism from the theological side; but he had one of the widest influences of the half century following the issue of his first work.

A portent of another age appeared in the "Zoonomia" of Dr. Erasmus Darwin (1794-5). This curious treatise, seeking for a "law of life," is an attempt by a skilled and gifted physician to apply a conjoined physiological and psychological treatment to all vital phenomena. To philosophy it gave small help, inasmuch as it set out by defining "ideas" alternately as notions and the cerebral action which produced them; but its speculations on animated Nature include remarkable anticipations of the theories of the origin of species which the author's grandson, Charles Darwin, was to establish in the nineteenth century.

Another emanation of new thought appears at the close of the century in "An Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society," by Thomas Robert Malthus (1798). This, the first form of a treatise destined to arouse a momentous discussion, was primarily motived by the appearance, in 1793, of William Godwin's "Political Justice," a treatise touched with the visionary emotions of the Revolution, and much more akin to Rousseau than to any large element in English opinion. The "Essay" of Malthus, soon remodelled, formed the definite stop to its power of persuasion; and the firm mental pressures set up by Jeremy Bentham, beginning with his "Fragment on Government" in 1786 and his "Defence of Usury" (1787), which elicited a candid recantation of economic doctrine from Adam Smith, forecast the intellectual movement of the next age.

British thought was turning much more generally to a newly exact study of all social, scientific and anthropological problems than to the Sisyphean tasks of philosophy proper; and the deep reaction set up by the Revolution meant a return, on a footing of revived evangelical earnestness, to the concrete rather than the abstract issues of religious belief. Gibbon had by his great work (1776-88) raised these anew on the historical side, from the standpoint of deism; and thus was recommenced a controversy that is still in progress.

It was in Germany that the task of philosophy was most strenuously taken up. Immanuel Kant, born in 1724 of Scottish stock, developed at Königsberg University an ideal of plain living and hard thinking. His first published writing (1747) was his "Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces," and his interests seem to have long lain in scientific synthesis, though his "magister" thesis was on metaphysics. His "General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens" (1755) is a work of historic importance in the record of evolutionary science, which would alone have served to preserve his name. But as he has told, a reading of Hume roused him from his "dogmatic slumber" in philosophy; and through a series of studies we trace him progressing to his great "Critique of the Pure Reason" (1781), which he built up during a decade. It undertakes, by a process of criticism, to eliminate from philosophy all dogmatism in the sense of *a priori* doctrine.

Beginning as an idealist of idealists Kant speedily becomes a realist of realists; only to revert again to an *a priori* absolutism. Thus the "Critique of the Pure Reason" becomes an accouplement of radical negations. It had set out by demonstrating that the great themes of philosophy, "God, freedom (of the will) and immortality," are problems upon which we cannot attain to logically reasoned knowledge. This doctrine was naturally offensive to the theological world; but Kant's plan was to show that what could not be established by the "pure reason," was established by the "practical reason," and in his "Critique of the Practical Reason" (1788) and "Critique of Judgement" (1790) he develops his positions on that side. The substance of it all is a rebuilding of theism on the basis of the conviction that our moral nature demands an immortality in which virtue and happiness shall be in conjunction, which they are not in this life; that there must accordingly be a virtue-rewarding God and that though Man, as part of the phe

nomenal world (now reasserted as such), cannot be rationally said to have free will, being part of the universal stream of causation, he can have it as a "thing-in-himself" in an ideal and undemonstrable yet ultimately actual world.

Kant seems to have regarded his "Critiques" as a clearing of the ground for some new philosophic construction, and in his closing years he occupied himself with a work which at times he declared to be his masterpiece, though at others he spoke of it as fit only to be burned. In reality, his mental faculties in those years were decaying and the manuscript is admittedly a chaos.

Nevertheless, it remains true that Kant exerted the widest philosophic influence of his century. He had brought the greatest stress of criticism on each current formula and position in turn. The result was, in Germany, after a pause of incubation, a furore of acclamation unprecedented in philosophic history. Men of quite opposed opinions found in sections of his work the negative or positive philosophy they wanted. After his death there was a sweeping reaction, and new enthusiasts for new doctrine dismissed him as a "Philistine." But the new philosophies which swarmed in the next generation—those of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Schopenhauer in particular—are classifiable as reactions from Kant, and as seeking the constructive solution which he had in effect shown to be chimerical.

Alongside Kant's youthful rise may be noted that of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81), who first won notice and influence as a scholarly dramatic critic and a powerful if not a masterly practitioner of drama, which was then, in Germany, struggling between French and other influences. He exhibited another order of power in his essay entitled "Laocoön" (1766), a highly learned and intelligent attempt to clear up the then common aesthetic confusion between the provinces of poetry and the plastic arts. It was, however, by publishing (1774-78), in a series of which he was editor, some of the manuscripts of the deceased professor Reimarus, impugning the historical foundations of Christianity, that Lessing made his most disturbing impact on public opinion, and did most to influence the direction of scholarly research. The age was, for Germany, one of intellectual "renaissance"; and in all directions the new effort exhibited the capacity for untiring labor which is distinctive of the German people. It was German scholars who did most of the new pioneer work alike in Biblical criticism and in classic archaeology.

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) was another stimulative influence. His "Ideas on the History of Mankind" (1784-91) is a sociological treatise of great suggestiveness, embodying the new recognition of evolution which was at work on all hands. But he has left no distinct impress; and F. H. Jacobi (1743-1819) and Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), a liberal and liberalizing Jew, much esteemed in his time, are equally subsidiary figures.

All of these, however, played a part in developing alike the scientific and the imaginative powers of Goethe, who was to be the most illustrious figure in German literature in the next generation; and Schiller, too, formed his mind in the intellectual ferment aroused by Kant. Schiller has, in fact, been described by a German historian of philosophy as "the most gifted of all the Kantians."

An evolution of another kind had taken place in Italy. Galileo, in the previous century, had given to inductive science a great practical impulse where Bacon had given only a theoretic though still powerful stimulus; and Italy had gained a front place in scientific Europe. It was in Naples that Giambattista (Giovanni Battista) Vico (1668-1744) developed his signal faculty for innovating thought.

Living in an atmosphere of new physical science, and yet fixed in Catholic orthodoxy (of which he always boasted), he seems to have troubled himself little over the special metaphysical problems which exercised the leading English thinkers. His so-called "theory of knowledge" is but an *a priori* ascription of all mental life to divine immanence, a pantheistic formula which is not only never argued, but is never embodied in the exposition of causation. If it were, it would expound savagery as a phase of

the divine mind. When, however, he concluded that the special certitude of mathematics is due to the fact that its matter and its truths are alike created by the mind, he was on his way to the recognition that another order of truths was to be found in the study of the process of human civilization, such truths being capable of reasoned demonstration like those of physical science. In effect, his "New Science" (1725) was an application of the developed concept of causation to the entire social process.

No Italian philosopher of Vico's age ranks with him in importance, but mention must be made of the treatise of Cesare Marchese de Beccaria (1735-94) "On Crimes and Punishments" (1764), which won the attention of reformers all over Europe and led to a new practice of humanity in prison treatment. Beccaria ascribed his inspiration to the works of Montesquieu and Helvetius; and he in turn decisively influenced Jeremy Bentham, who found in his work the guiding conception of "the greatest good of the greatest number."

The originative philosophic thought of the eighteenth century in Europe may be said to be confined to the four countries whose intellectual history has been above briefly set forth. Switzerland contributed much detail work to science, and the distinguished educationist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) had begun shortly before the French Revolution to develop on more solid lines than Rousseau's the ideal of a moralized and reformed system of school teaching; but it was only in 1801 that he published his book "How Gertrude Teaches her Children," which set forth the creative ideas that give him a foremost place in the history of educational theory.

Spain, in the earlier part of the century, was at the very nadir of her economic, political and intellectual life. Portugal counted for no more, on the mental side. In the nations round the Baltic, on the other hand, a new intellectual life was on foot, but while Denmark presents the striking figure of the brilliant littérateur Holberg, and Sweden the great name of Linnaeus, the only quasi-philosophic influence coming from Scandinavia was that of Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), whose remarkable writings belong to the history of theology rather than to that of philosophy. In Holland the eighteenth century was, on the whole, a period of intellectual as of economic arrest.

It is in the United States that we find the one outstanding philosophic performance yet to be recorded for the century. Thinkers of all schools have recognized the unsurpassed acuteness, given its premises, of the treatise of Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) on the "Freedom of the Will," and no American name ranks higher in the roll of philosophic history until near the end of the nineteenth century.

# TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXIX

A.D.

1789 George Washington first president of the United States of America.
May 5: Meeting of French States-General.
June 20: the Tennis Court Oath.
" 27: Attempted coup d'état, National (Constituent) Assembly recognized.
July 14: Fall of the Bastille.
Aug. 4: Abolition of feudal privileges.
Oct. 5-6: "Insurrection of Women"; royal family moves from Versailles to Tuileries.

1790 The French Assembly attacks Church property and organization; celebration of new constitution on July 14.
India: Cornwallis at war with Mysore to 1792.

1791 April 2: Mirabeau d.
June 20: Flight of Louis to Varennes, whence he is brought back to Paris.
Aug.: Declaration of Pilnitz, regarded in France as threat of foreign intervention.
Sept.: Louis accepts new constitution.
Canada separated into Upper and Lower.

1792 Washington again president of U.S.A.
Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement (Bengal).
Jan.: Treaty of Jassy (Russia and Turkey).
April: France declares war on Austria.
July: Prussia declares war on France; Brunswick issues Coblenz manifesto.
Aug. 10: Louis driven from Tuileries, where Swiss Guard die fighting; Assembly suspends monarchy.
Aug. 23: Prussians take Longwy.
Sep. 2-6: "September massacres" in Paris.
" 20: Prussians retire.
" Convention proclaims Republic.
Nov.: Savoy and Nice annexed from Sardinia.
" 6: France decrees opening of Scheldt. Dumouriez wins Jemappes and overruns Netherlands.
" 15: Decree to abolish all existing authorities where French armies are in occupation.
Dec.: Trial of Louis "Capet."

1793 Jan. 21: Execution of Louis. Committee of Public Safety constituted.
Second Partition of Poland.
June: Arrest of Girondins. Committee of Public Safety reconstructed; Carnot "organizer of victories."
July: Marat assassinated by Charlotte Corday.
Oct.: Reign of Terror begins; execution of Marie Antoinette and Girondins. Fall and destruction of (royalist) Lyons.
"Citizen" Genet, France's ambassador, tries vainly to embroil the U.S. in war with England.
Dec.: Fall of Toulon (Major Bonaparte).

1794 Jay's Treaty concluded with England.
Polish revolt of Kosciusko.
April 3: Death of Danton. Robespierre supreme.
July 28: Fall of Robespierre; "Thermidorean reaction"; end of the Terror.
Oct.: Polish revolt crushed.
Dec.: Flight of Stadtholder to England. Pichegru's cavalry capture Dutch fleet.

1795 Jan.: Third partition of Polish kingdom.
April: Treaty of Basel; Prussia withdraws.
William V cedes Cape Colony to England for the period of the war. British occupation till 1802.
June: Dauphin (Louis XVII) d. Spain and Holland ally with France.
Oct. 5: Insurrection and coup d'état of Vendémiaire. The Convention, having established the Directory, is dissolved.
Bonaparte appointed to Italian command.

A.D.

1796 Bonaparte in Italy.
April: Montenotte; Sardinia (Piedmont) retires.
May: Bridge of Lodi; gives Lombardy to French.
Bonaparte occupies Ferrara and Livorno. Austrians are shut up in Mantua.
Oct.: French Danube campaign frustrated by Archduke Charles.
Nov.: Bonaparte defeats Austrians at Arcola.
Russia: Catherine II d.; acc. Paul I.
John Adams elected president U.S.A.

1797 Jan. 15: Bonaparte's decisive defeat of Austrians at Rivoli.
Feb. 2: Capitulation of Mantua.
" 14: Spanish fleet broken up at St. Vincent.
Bonaparte forces treaty of Tolentino on pope.
Italian conquests formed into Cispadane and Cisalpine Republics.
Bonaparte defeats Archduke Charles at Tagliamento; advances to Leoben, where peace preliminaries with Austria are signed, April 18.
Oct. 6: Dutch fleet defeated at Camperdown.
" 14: Treaty of Campo Formio; Great Britain isolated.
Nov.: Congress set up at Rastadt.

1798 India: Mornington (Marguess Wellesley), governor-general (to 1805).
Roman and Helvetic Republics set up.
France annexes left bank of Rhine.
May: Bonaparte sails from Toulon, and reaches Egypt (June), wins battle of Pyramids and enters Cairo (July 25).
Aug. 1: Nelson finds and annihilates French fleet at Aboukir Bay (B. of the Nile).
Isolation of Bonaparte in Egypt.
Nov.: Second coalition, joined by Austria, Russia and Naples. French take Naples, Ferdinand securing himself in Sicily; and occupy Tuscany and Piedmont.

1799 India, March-May: Mysore war and capture of Seringapatam.
March: French checked in North Italy.
Apr.-Aug.: Victories of Russians under Suvarov in Italy; Moreau conducts withdrawal. Break up of the Directory.
Sept.: Masséna defeats Korsakov at Zürich; Suvarov retreats through Alps.
May-Oct.: Bonaparte foiled in Syria by failure to capture Acre. He deserts the army in Egypt, slips across the Mediterranean, and lands at Fréjus, Oct. 9.
Nov. 9: Coup d'état of Brumaire; Sieyès' new constitution, remodelled, makes Bonaparte "First Consul" with autocratic powers under democratic forms.

1800 Bonaparte crosses the St. Bernard and reconquers N. Italy by victory of Marengo (June 14).
Tsar Paul makes secret agreement, but negotiations with Austria and Britain break down.
Sept.: British take Malta.
Dec.: Moreau defeats Austrians at Hohenlinden.
Ireland incorporated with Great Britain.

1801 Feb.: Treaty of Lunéville strips Austria of territory and leaves Britain isolated.
March: British expedition to Egypt. Resignation of Pitt.
April: Battle of the Baltic.
May: Capitulation of French troops in Egypt.
Holland becomes the Batavian Republic.
U.S.A.: Thomas Jefferson President.

A.D.

1802 Jan.: The Cisalpine becomes the Italian Republic, with Bonaparte acting as its president.
March: Peace of Amiens.
April: Bonaparte's concordat with pope.
Aug.: Napoleon declared Consul for life.
Sept.: Annexation of Piedmont and reorganization of Helvetic Republic. Diet of Ratisbon deals with German affairs.
Dec., India: Treaty of Bassein with peshwa.

1803 Jan.: Publication of Sebastiani's report on Egypt alarms British government.
May: Declaration of war between France and England. Menace of invasion.
India: Maratha war; battle of Assaye and Laswari.
American Louisiana purchased from Napoleon.

1804 Issue of Code Napoléon.
May: Napoleon proclaimed emperor.
French occupy Hanover.
Pitt resumes office. Alexander seeks to form a new coalition.
Francis II assumes title "Hereditary Emperor of Austria."
Organization of Army of Invasion at Boulogne.
Napoleon crowns himself before Pius VII.
Spain joins France.

1805 April: Anglo-Russian league; joined by Austria, Naples and Sweden.
Italian Republic makes Napoleon king.
March-July: Nelson's pursuit of Villeneuve.
Oct. 20: Capitulation of Ulm; 21: Trafalgar.
Nov. 13: Vienna occupied.
Dec. 2: Austerlitz; 15: Treaty of Schönbrunn with Prussia; 26: Treaty of Pressburg with Austria.

1806 Jan.: Pitt d. British reoccupy Cape Colony.
Napoleon distributes kingdom and principalities among his kin and marshals.
July: W. German states combined in Confederation of the Rhine, separated from Empire. End of Holy Roman Empire.
Oct. 9: Prussia declares war; 14: Prussian army crushed at Jena and Auerstädt.
Nov.: Napoleon issues Berlin Decree for exclusion of British shipping and commerce from Europe.

1807 Russia supports Prussia.
April: British bombardment of Copenhagen.
July: Treaty of Tilsit; humiliation of Prussia. Grand duchy of Warsaw set up.
Jerome Bonaparte k. of Westphalia.
Junot occupies Lisbon; flight of Portuguese royal family to Brazil.

1808 Napoleon makes Carlos IV and Ferdinand abdicate (Spain), giving crown to Joseph, whose place is taken at Naples by Murat.
July: Spain revolts; surrender of French at Baylen. Britain intervenes in Portugal.
Aug.: Vimeiro; French evacuate Portugal. Peninsular war begun.
Oct.: Conference of Erfurt. Dismissal of Stein.
Napoleon's Spanish campaign. Moore attacks his communications (Dec.). Napoleon leaves Spain to Soult.
Russia takes Finland from Sweden.

1809 Jan.: Moore's force embarked at Corunna; Soult invades Portugal.
Austria declares war.
May: Wellesley returns to Portugal; expels Soult. Napoleon enters Vienna but is checked at Aspern.
July: Napoleon defeats Austrians at Wagram. Wellesley (Wellington) invades Spain; wins Talavera but retreats to Portugal.
Oct.: Metternich's ascendancy begins.
U.S.A.: Madison president.

1810 Louis k. of Holland deposed for admitting English commerce; Holland annexed.
Napoleon divorces Josephine, m. Marie Louise of Austria.
Masséna in Peninsula; takes Ciudad Rodrigo; is checked by Wellington.
Bernadotte adopted as crown prince of Sweden.
British capture Isle of Mauritius.

1811 Retreat of Masséna.
May: Wellington retires to Portugal.

1812 Spanish provisional government at Cadiz draws up the "Constitution of 1812."
Wellington storms Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.
Bernadotte as virtual ruler of Sweden joins Alexander.
June: French Grand Army invades Russia.
July: Wellington defeats Marmont at Salamanca, but again has to retire.
Sept.: Retreating Russians make a stand at Borodino; Napoleon enters Moscow (14), which is set on fire.
Oct. 19: Retreat from Moscow begins.
Nov. 27: Battle of Bridge of Beresina.
Dec. 30: Prussian commander Yorck makes convention of Tauroggen.
War between Great Britain and U.S.A., attempt to invade Canada is repulsed.

1813 Feb.: Treaty of Kalisch between Russia and Prussia.
June: Wellington wins victory at Vittoria.
Aug.: Blücher's victory at Katzbach; Napoleon's at Dresden.
Oct. 16-18: "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig. Napoleon rejects peace terms.
India: Moira (marquess of Hastings) governor-general to 1822.
America: Perry wins Battle of Lake Erie against Britain, and *Shannon* captures *Chesapeake* in Boston Bay.

1814 Allies invade France.
March 30: Paris capitulates.
April 10: Soult and Wellington at Toulouse. 11: Napoleon abdicates; is sent to Elba. 29: Louis XVIII restored.
May 30: Treaty of Paris; French boundaries as in 1792; details referred to Vienna Congress.
June 2: Louis issues the Charta.
Aug.: Public buildings in Washington burned by the British.
Nov.: Vienna Congress meets. William of Orange made king of Holland and Belgium; Norway transferred from Danish to Swedish crown; Poland reconstituted as a kingdom for Alexander; Sardinia reinstated; Venice to Austria. Discord among the powers.
Dec.: Peace of Ghent ends Anglo-American war but leaves disputed questions unsettled.

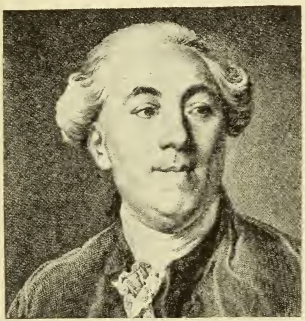
1814-16 India: Gurkha war.

1815 Jan. 8: Jackson defeats British at New Orleans.
March 1: Napoleon escapes from Elba and lands at Cannes; 13: Vienna Congress declares him a public enemy.
April and May: Napoleon rebuilds an army to strike before Austria and Russia can take the field; Prussian army brought up under Blücher, Wellington in command of composite force in Belgium.
June 15: Napoleon strikes at Ligny, to split Wellington from Blücher, who wheels to Wavre; 18: Attacks Wellington at Waterloo, but is held up through the day till Prussians arrive and his army is completely shattered.
July 15: Napoleon surrenders, and is sent to St. Helena.

# THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC AGE: 1789—1815

When the States-General was opened in 1789 it was announced that the Three Estates would meet and vote separately. The Third Estate, led by Mirabeau, one of the few "aristocrats" who had joined them, a man of battered moral reputation but great ability, at once joined battle, proclaiming that the three must sit and vote together. The Commons could then be sure of a general majority, as some of the minor clergy who had grievances of their own would vote with them, and also some few of the noblesse. They met to discuss not the prepared agenda but the present situation, the principle of political equality. They declared on June 17 that the one chamber was the National Assembly, whether the other two joined it or stayed away. Shut out from their hall on June 20, they nevertheless met and took the famous "tennis-court oath" not to separate till they had won constitutional government. The king threatened to disperse them by force; they defied the threat, and he surrendered. Some of the clergy and of the aristocrats were already joining them. On June 27 Louis requested the other two chambers to join the National Assembly.

Paris was seething with excitement; the troops were not to be trusted. German and Swiss troops were brought up. The excitement grew and came to a head on July 13, when the mob rose, marched on the Bastille (the great but feebly guarded prison-fortress which was the symbol of the old absolutism) and stormed it easily.



**FRENCH FINANCE MINISTER**

Appointed director-general of finances in 1788, Jacques Necker found the situation too difficult even for his undoubted abilities, and advocated the summoning of the States-General.

*Portrait by Duplesssis; from Seidlitz, "Porträtwerk"*

The sober citizens of Paris organized in Paris a control to take the place of that which had collapsed—a commune, or municipal government. The Commune enrolled a new national guard for the preservation of order, setting in command of it the popular young aristocrat Lafayette, champion of liberty, the French hero of the American War.

The National Assembly turned itself into the Constituent Assembly for the framing of a constitution and the abolition of grievances. On August 4, three weeks after the fall of the Bastille, it abolished all the privileges which had survived feudalism. It adopted Rousseau's doctrine of the Rights of Man as its fundamental principle, and went on to invent the ideal constitution, planned out with mathematical precision, taking the absolute separation of the executive from the legislative as the basic law of sound government; nevertheless, after a hot contest it was decided to allow the crown, the head of the executive, a suspensive veto on legislation.

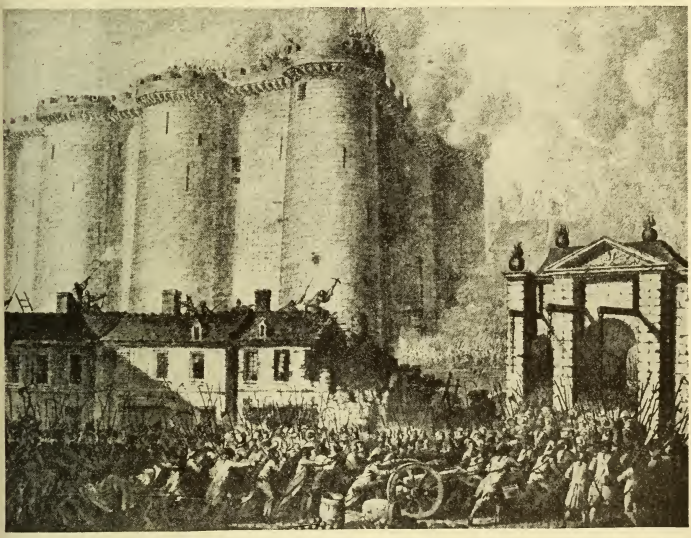
The Assembly abolished the Parlement as being of no further use. It made a new division of the country into "departments," for administrative purposes, each being theoretically a self-governing area. Symmetry in form, uniformity in method, equality in numbers were the aims in view. Reform of the ecclesiastical system followed reform of the feudal system; the Church was to be a department of the state, and the clergy its state officials; her lands were to be nationalized.

French Empire
French Dependencies
Confederation of the Rhine
Napoleon's route to Moscow
Mediterranean Sea
EGYPT
Cairo
Nile
Alexandria
Aboukir Bay
Jaffa
Gaza
Acre
SYRIA
EGYPT and SYRIA
NORTHERN ITALY
(Boundaries in 1803)
HELVETIAN REP
TYROL
AUSTRIA
VENETIA
Milan
Lodi
Brescia
Peschiera
Rivoli
Verona
Venice
Arcola
Mantua
Ferrara
Bologna
PARMA
Marengo
Genova
Savona
Montenotte
Coni
LIGURIAN REPUBLIC
LUCCA REP.
KINGDOM OF ETRURIA
PAPAL STATES
Leghorn
Nice
Antibes
Cannes
RHODANIC REP. (VALAIS)
FRENCH EMPIRE
Turin
Po
Adige
Tagliamento
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
Edinburgh
Dublin
London
Bouloigne
Brest
BRITTANY
Paris
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Amiens
Waterloo
Antwerp
Rhine
Verdun
Metz
Lunéville
Belfort
Alsace
Strasbourg
Cherbourg
Le Havre
Rouen
Caen
Cherbourg
Le Mans
Orléans
Tours
Nantes
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Bayonne
Perpignan
Toulon
Nice
Frejus
Marseilles
Montpellier
Lyon
Grenoble
Dijon
Besançon
Geneva
Basle
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Genoa
Turin
Lucca
Pisa
Leghorn
Florence
Bologna
Ancona
Rome
Naples
Corsica
Ajaccio
Sardinia
Cagliari
Sicily
Palermo
Messina
Malta
Gibraltar
Cadiz
Seville
Malaga
Granada
Madrid
Lisbon
Oporto
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Cape St. Vincent
C. Trafalgar
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Crete
Constantinople
Smyrna
Salonica
Adriatic Sea
Danube
Save
Drave
Vienna
Austerlitz
Wagram
Aspern-Essling
Pressburg
Pesth
Jassy
Prut
Dniester
Dnieper
Kiev
Kaluga
Smolensk
Moskva
Moscow
Borodino
Vilna
Kowno
Memel
Tilsit
Friedland
Eylau
Danzig
Vistula
Warsaw
Kalisch
Posen
Berlin
Potsdam
Leipzig
Jena
Erfurt
Eisenach
Cologne
Hamburg
Copenhagen
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
DENMARK & NORWAY
SWEDEN
PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
GALICIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIAN HUNGARY EMPIRE
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
PROVENCE
ITALIAN PROVINCES
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF SICILY
MONTENEGRO
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Corfu
Ionian Is. (Venice)
Dulcigno
Scutari
Belgrade
Bucharest
Moldavia
Wallachia
Crimea
Sebastopol
Odessa
Kherson

The privileges had gone; but with them had gone the whole of the old machinery of which they had formed a part; a new and untried machinery had been set up, but it was not yet in working order. Mirabeau wanted to strengthen the executive—officially, the crown—while keeping it in touch with the legislature, the body representative of popular feeling with all its diversities; but that meant that the king must be under the guidance of the strong man—Mirabeau. Actually the king was under the guidance of his reactionary court, who detested Mirabeau, while the extreme wing at least of the popular party suspected him of aristocratic leanings; and the king himself, so long as he remained in Paris, was not a free agent.

Mirabeau died in April, 1791. In June, the king took the fatal step of attempting flight. At Varennes, almost on the Netherlands border, he was recognized, stopped and taken back to Paris. The situation hardened. Extremists openly called for the establishment of a republic. But the "Constituent" Assembly was constitutionalist, not republican; the moderates in it were the majority. It preserved order, and settled down to a revision of the constitution, which was formerly accepted by Louis in September, arrangements having been made for the summoning of a new assembly.

The new body, distinguished as the "Legislative Assembly," was of a very different type. Expressly all the old members were excluded from it, though the old extremists found a field for themselves outside it, in the Paris Commune, which they dominated. But the most



PARIS MOB STORMS THE BASTILLE—SYMBOL OF ROYAL ABSOLUTISM

On July 14, 1789, the populace of Paris rose, stormed the Bastille, and razed it to the ground. To the frenzied mob this massive prison-fortress was the embodiment of royal autocracy and their own subjection, while its fall signified the collapse of the detested "ancien régime." This drawing by Prieur represents the chaotic scene in the smoke-shrouded courtyard during the attack.

*The Louvre; photo, Giraudon*

**THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ: NAPOLEON'S GREAT VICTORY OVER AUSTRIANS AND RUSSIANS**

Napoleon's boast concerning the opposing forces at Austerlitz was no idle one. "Avant demain au soir, cette armée est à moi," he observed on December 1, 1805. On December 2 he overwhelmingly defeated the Austrians and Russians, killing or taking prisoner about 35,000 of their 83,000 troops, and capturing forty flags that were the standards of the Russian imperial guard. The result of this battle was to break up the anti-French coalition. The Russians withdrew and Austria signed the peace of Pressburg. This aquatint is by Duplessis-Bertaux.

notable of the new members were the Girondists, the deputies from the Gironde, most of them filled with republican theories extracted from a somewhat perverted study of Roman history.

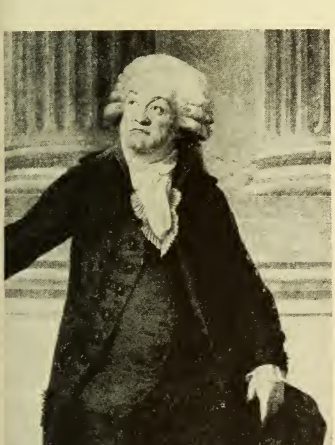
Europe had hitherto watched the progress of the revolution in France with varied feelings. In England it excited interest primarily as a commendable but undisciplined and uninstructed attempt to achieve for France at one stroke the constitutional government which England had achieved for herself in centuries of development. The idea of intervention in the domestic affairs of France seemed absurd.

Now, as recorded in Chronicle XXVIII Joseph II had thoroughly committed himself to the Russian alliance in 1788 and plunged into a war with Turkey, while Prussia, guided by the minister Hertzberg, stood aloof, purposing to intervene at the moment when intervention would bring most advantage to herself. Hertzberg was on the point of intervening on behalf of the Porte, when Joseph died at the beginning of 1790, and the accession of his brother Leopold II changed the whole situation.

WIFE OF LOUIS XVI

Her Austrian origin, her extravagance and interference in politics all contributed to the unpopularity of Marie Antoinette, shown in this painting by Madame Vigée-Lebrun. Guillotined in 1793, she faced death with fine courage.

*Musée de Versailles*

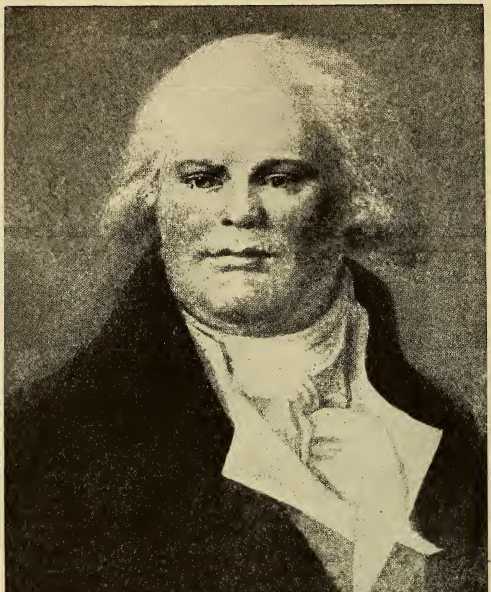


LEADER OF THE THIRD ESTATE

Couderc's painting shows the comte de Mirabeau in 1789. His ideal was a strong constitutional government, but the suspicious attitude of the court estranged him. Elected president of the National Assembly in February, 1791, he died in April of that year.

*Musée de Versailles; photo Neurdein*

Leopold had no sympathy with Joseph's grandiose schemes of expansion. He diplomatically invited Prussia's friendly mediation; but when Prussia responded with proposals for the territorial exchanges for which Hertzberg hankered, Leopold uncompromisingly rejected them. His skill effected the treaty of Reichenbach with Prussia (July, 1790), and the peace of Jassy, between Austria and Russia on the one hand and their Turkish enemies on the other in January of the year 1792. Leopold had established formally amicable relations with Frederick William; and in conjunction with the latter he issued, in August, the famous Declaration of Pilnitz, the spark which



FAMOUS VICTIM OF THE TERROR

This oil painting, which shows the strong, scarred face of the revolutionary leader Georges Jacques Danton (1759-94), dates from the last years of his life. He discountenanced the fanaticism of the extreme Terrorists, and Robespierre secured his arrest. He was guillotined, April 5, 1794.

*Musée Carnavalet*

fired the train of events to follow.

In Paris at least it was interpreted as a threat to France; and France was very soon ablaze with indignation. Austria was already more than sufficiently unpopular, because the extremely unpopular Marie Antoinette was an Austrian princess. Whether Leopold himself could have allayed the storm may be doubted; but in March, 1792, he was dead, succeeded by a young and inexperienced heir, Francis II. On April 20 the unfortunate Louis was compelled to come down to the Assembly and pronounce a formal declaration of war against his nephew the "king of Bohemia and Hungary"—the imperial election not having yet taken place.

The first collisions with the Austrian troops were unfortunate; the king and the Girondist ministers were at odds; new but incompetent ministers were appointed from the moderate party, the Feuillants. The Paris mob broke into the Tuileries; Prussia declared war in alliance with Austria; Paris rang with the strains of the Marseillaise; in the popular belief the king and the moderates—including Lafayette—were traitors playing into the hands of the enemies of France; and on July 27 the Prussian commander, the duke of Brunswick, confirmed the belief by a manifesto threatening divers penalties if any harm befell the royal family.

Then the Paris Commune, headed by Danton, took control, having with it the armed force of the city, the National Guard. The royal family (August 10) fled from the Tuileries. Lafayette would have marched on Paris to restore order; but no one would follow him, and he fell instead into the hands of the Austrians, who held him prisoner. Prussian troops advanced and captured Longwy and then Verdun (September 2). The Commune had already arrested and flung into prison a huge number of suspects. On September 3 it organized a massacre of the prisoners in their prisons. The example was followed all over the country. On September 20 the new commander on the front, Dumouriez, engaged the Prussian troops at Valmy and was not defeated. Military confidence was restored, and from that moment the French troops fought to win.

The Convention met on September 21. The royalists had been wiped out, and the chiefs of the Commune, the Jacobins, extremists who had sat in the old Con-

stituent Assembly, were back again. They formed an organized body, headed by Danton and Robespierre, which knew its own mind and had no scruples about the method of attaining its ends. There was no delay in proclaiming the end of the monarchy.

Then began the fight for domination. The Girondists denounced the Jacobins, the Jacobins with greater skill denounced the Girondists, but they united in bringing the unhappy Louis to trial before the Convention itself, and the Girondist leaders were among the bare majority which passed the death sentence On January 21, 1793, the head of the deposed king fell under the guillotine—the ghastly challenge to the monarchies of Europe flung down by the French Republic; but it was only the finishing touch. French armies were already giving effect to the doctrine of republican aggression in the Rhenish principalites and in the Netherlands; and thus at the beginning of 1793 the war became general.

France threw herself into the struggle with her whole soul. The allies were hide-bound by military conventions established in the Seven Years' War; the French flung the old conventions to the winds, and only demanded of their captains that they should win battles. Any man who showed ability was given his chance; and an amazing amount of first-class talent came to the front. Moreover, in France the military organization passed into and remained through successive changes under the direction of a man of supreme genius, Carnot. Consequently the French armies met with continuous success and the allied armies with repeated failure.

Prussia kept her armies in the field —away from the fighting front—only because she could do so at the expense of Great Britain. In 1795 she made a separate peace and retired from the coalition, Spain following her example and improving upon it by joining France; while the French overran the Netherlands, and in Holland the republican party drove the stadtholder William out of the country, proclaimed the "Batavian Republic" and joined France. Thus in 1795 the "coalition" meant Great Britain, Austria and the minor principalities in Germany and Italy which still adhered to it.

In that year Poland as an independent state disappeared from the map of Europe. Catherine annexed a substantial part and Prussia a smaller portion. The final partition of what still remained came in 1795. This time it was with Austria that Catherine struck her bargain, lest there should be trouble over

**TERRORIST WHOM THE TERROR SLEW**

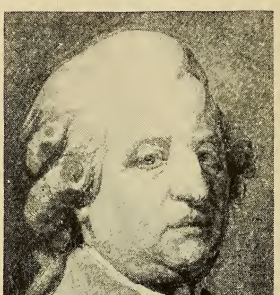
This portrait shows the determined profile of Maximilien Marie Isidore Robespierre (1758-94), the revolutionary leader most responsible for the Reign of Terror. Nemesis finally overtook him and he was guillotined in July, 1794.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Alinari*

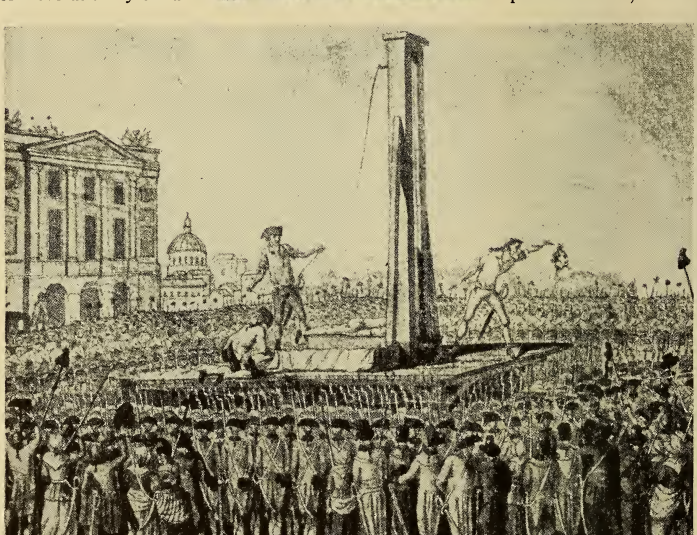
her own designs against Turkey. She offered a substantial share as the price of acquiescence. As a result Poland disappeared into the maws of her three big neighbors.

Meanwhile France, winning victories abroad, extending her borders and transforming hostile principalities into friendly or dependent republics, was passing

through a long internal agony. When the Girondists fell, the Jacobins had already pinned their faith to Robespierre, while Danton, the organizer of the "September massacres," was under suspicion as a "moderate," an "indulgent." The Convention bestowed absolute powers on a Committee of Public Safety (July, 1793) with Robespierre at its head, from which Danton was excluded.



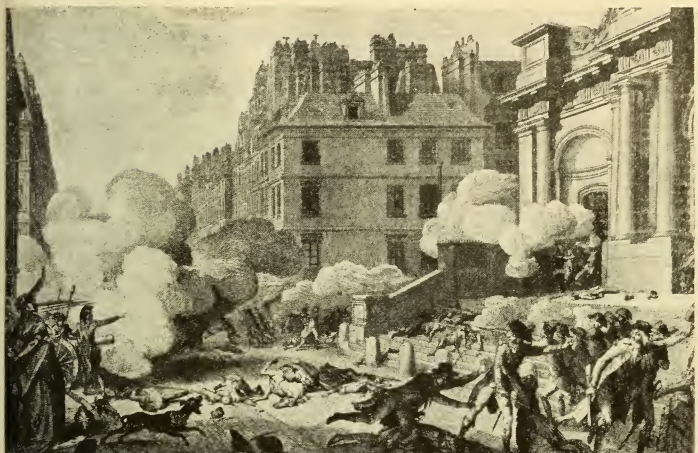
In October the real Reign of Terror began. A "revolutionary tribunal" sent the Girondist chiefs and Marie Antoinette to the guillotine, and after them a host of "aristocrats." The victims of the guillotine multiplied. But the orgy of bloodshed was followed by a revulsion; Robespierre was suddenly arrested by order of the Convention in July—the month which the Republic had rechristened Thermidor—and followed his victims to the guillotine. The mob applauded his death as it had applauded theirs; but it



**FRENCH REVOLUTIONARIES TRIUMPHANTLY EXHIBIT THE HEAD OF LOUIS XVI**

Jacobins and Girondists combined in bringing Louis XVI to the trial before the Convention that led to his death by guillotine on January 21, 1793. This fine water color drawing by an unknown but closely contemporary artist shows the scene of execution. Top, Ducreux's portrait, painted in the Temple three days before the execution, shows Louis XVI, well-meaning but weak, who paid with his life for the faults and follies of his predecessors as much as for his own.

*Musée Carnavalet (top); Bibliothèque Nationale (bottom)*



**BONAPARTE CRUSHES THE PARISIAN RISING OF VENDEMIAIRE**

The new constitution devised by the abbé Sieyès in 1794 did not meet with universal approval, and prompt action was necessary to quell the violence of its opponents. The government troops, under young General Bonaparte, were successful in crushing the rising of Vendémiaire (October), 1795, in Paris. Charles Monnet's famous picture, engraved by Helman, shows the struggle outside the church of S. Roch, Rue St. Honoré. The insurgents, ill equipped and ill led, were no match for regular troops.

*Photo, W. F. Mansell*

wanted no more. The Reign of Terror had come to an end.

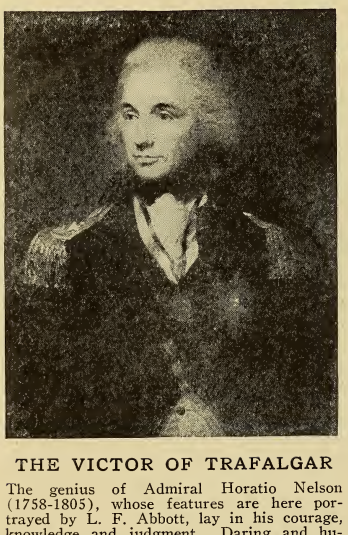
Almost as a matter of course a new constitution was devised by the indefatigable architect of symmetrical systems, the abbé Sieyès. The executive was to be in the hands of a directory of five, the legislature was to consist of two chambers in which members of the Convention itself were to predominate. The natural result was the rising of a hostile mob in Paris in October ("Vendémiaire"), 1795. Barras, the head of the Directory, entrusted the defense of the city to the young artillery officer Napoleon Bonaparte; he brought up guns and cleared the streets; the rising was effectively suppressed and the Directory's authority established; and Bonaparte at the age of twenty-seven was rewarded with the command of the French armies in Italy.

The appointment of Bonaparte to the command was immediately justified. By March, 1797, he was master of all North Italy, which he had "liberated"; that is, he had imposed upon the conquered territories a system of self-government on the French model, for which they had to pay a heavy price in hard cash and art treasures. They were now united as the "Cisalpine Republic," under the protection of France.

But Bonaparte was also his own master—not the Directory whose nominal servant he was. The matter of immediate importance was to effect a settlement with Austria. On his own responsibility he advanced on Trieste, defeating the archduke on the way, and thence to Leoben. There he was met by Austrian envoys who were now ready enough to accept the terms he offered—the surrender of the Netherlands and the Milanese and the partition of Venice as the return for her uneasy neutrality. It was easy to find an excuse for attacking Venice and extracting the cession

of the Ionian islands. The rest of Venice passed to Austria when the terms of Leoben (April) were confirmed by the treaty of Campo Formio in October. In the interval, the mutinies in the British fleet had been quelled, and the Dutch fleet put out of action at Camperdown.

Bonaparte had conducted both his military and his political operations without any regard to instructions or prohibitions from Paris, and the French



THE VICTOR OF TRAFALGAR

The genius of Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), whose features are here portrayed by L. F. Abbott, lay in his courage, knowledge and judgment. Daring and humane, he excelled as a commander and was beloved as well as obeyed.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

government had to accept the fait accompli. When at last he returned in triumph to Paris he could have made himself master of the state there and then; but he was planning that Egyptian expedition which, had it not been for the British fleet, might quite possibly have made him master not only of Paris but of the world.

When the expedition sailed in May, 1798, France had already found means for ejecting the aged pope from the Papal States and turning them into the Roman Republic, and for adding the Helvetic Republic to the circle of dependencies. Also the Treaty of Campo Formio had left over the question of the treatment of other German principalities to a conference at Rastadt, which French diplomacy used to antagonize Austria and Prussia and to bring western Germany, and the Rhineland in particular, more decisively under French domination.

Bonaparte reached Alexandria, having captured Malta on the way, in June. By the end of July he had crushed the Mamelukes in the battle of the Pyramids, and was organizing his own rule; but on August 1 Nelson at last tracked down the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, and annihilated it in the Battle of the Nile. Thenceforth the British fleet held undisputed control of the Mediterranean and Bonaparte's communications with Europe were completely severed.

By this time the new coalition was on the point of striking; the first and very unsuccessful move was made by the contemptible Ferdinand of Naples, who attacked the Roman Republic, was himself immediately ejected from Naples, and took flight to Sicily, where his safety was guaranteed by Nelson's victorious fleet. The Italian half of his kingdom was promptly organized as the Parthenopean Republic. But after that came disasters for the French in the first months of 1799. The archduke Charles defeated Jourdan at Stockach; Masséna was isolated at Zürich; Russian forces under Suvarov entered Italy, and his victory on the Trebbia prevented the junction of Macdonald's army from Naples with Moreau's in the north. Ferdinand was brought back to Naples, and with Nelson's aid inflicted savage punishment on the rebels.

Bonaparte had conquered Egypt and made it his base for the conquest of Syria, which in its turn was to be his base either for a conquest of Asia, including India, or of Europe from the east, while France held her in the west. But the news from Europe decided him that it was time for him to return to Paris and take control. With a few comrades he took boat and landed at Fréjus in October.

Bonaparte hastened to Paris. Sieyès had a constitution ready, but needed a general to institute it. The arrival of

Napoleon left no choice as to the general who was to carry out the coup d'état—the coup d'état of Brumaire (November 9, 1799). It was duly carried out, not without some extremely critical moments; and its product was not the constitution of Sieyès, but one which, while preserving something of its outward form, placed the legislature in the control of the executive, and the executive in the hands of one man, the "First Consul," with two phantoms beside him who also bore the name of consul, with hardly even a semblance of authority. It was not long before the First Consul adopted the monarchical signature.

The military situation was still critical, though Russia had retired. The First Consul made separate peace overtures to Austria and to Great Britain; but the negotiations fell through, and in 1800 Napoleon invaded Italy while Moreau advanced into Germany. No relief was sent to Masséna, who was starved into surrender in June; but a fortnight later Napoleon defeated the Austrians at Marengo. He procured thereby an armistice, which he employed in placating the tsar,—while he beguiled Spain with concessions which meant nothing. The British fleet captured Malta; he had just promised it to the tsar, but it was retained by its captors.

Hostilities were renewed, and Moreau won a brilliant victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, which forced them to conclude a separate peace at Lunéville

NELSON'S MASTERLY VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF THE NILE

On August 1, 1798, Nelson, despite the numerical inferiority of the English fleet, inflicted on the French an overwhelming naval defeat in Aboukir Bay, from which time he became a national hero. As a result of this victory the British won command of the Mediterranean, and Bonaparte's communications with Europe were severed. The incident of the battle which this engraving, after the painting by De Loutherbourg, represents is the blowing up of the French flagship Orient.

in February, 1801. Great Britain dispatched an expedition to Egypt which was completely successful; her fleet broke up the armed neutrality by its attack upon the Danes in the Battle of the Baltic; Paul was assassinated, and his youthful successor, Alexander I, made haste to seek a reconciliation with Great Britain. The war ended—for the time

BONAPARTE DISPERSES THE DIRECTORY

Bonaparte's realization that the French executive government in the hands of the Directory, was unpopular, led him to determine upon its overthrow. The bold scheme was carried out in the coup d'état of Brumaire (November) 1799, and François Bouchot's painting represents the disorderly scene which accompanied Bonaparte's dissolution of the government.

*The Louvre*

—with the Peace of Amiens in March, 1802.

The treaty included definite pacts on both sides, and indefinite understandings. The pacts were not carried out, because each side refused to make the first move. In May, 1803, war was again declared between Great Britain and the French Republic.

For Great Britain the sea was the only possible field of warfare, and her fleet established an effective guard over the French ports, while Napoleon was organizing a great army of invasion, in the vain hope of finding or creating an opportunity for carrying it across the Channel unmolested, and stabilizing his own position in France and in Europe.

Napoleon, however, required for himself the form as well as the substance of royalty. Bourbon royalism in France was still, it seemed, a danger. In 1804 the duc d'Enghien, a prince of the blood, was kidnapped on German soil, carried over the border and, after a mock military trial, executed. Immediately afterwards Napoleon procured the plébiscite which put an end to the republican fiction and made him emperor. But the death of d'Enghien was in the eyes of the young tsar, Alexander I, a firm believer in the divinity that doth hedge princes as well as kings, an unforgivable crime; and the tsar, in conjunction with Pitt, set about organizing a new coalition.

The Coalition was still incomplete when, in March, 1805, the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve came out—not to fight Nelson, but to draw him away to the West Indies. Nelson went in pursuit; Villeneuve evaded him and returned; but the news reached England; Villeneuve found a squadron on the watch, knew that there could now be no chance of bringing out the Brest fleet, and made for Corunna. Napoleon knew that his scheme had failed and launched the army of invasion not upon England but upon Austria.

The Austrian frontier force at Ulm was trapped and forced to capitulate (October); Napoleon marched on Vienna, and entered it on November 13. The Russians were already at hand; from Vienna Napoleon marched to meet them, and shattered them at the brilliant victory of Austerlitz (December 3). Rus-

sia felt that Austria had failed her, and retired; Prussia might have joined the Coalition but for Austerlitz—as matters stood, she swallowed the bait dangled before her by Napoleon, that Hanover should be handed over to her. Austria lay at the conqueror's mercy; he was content to take from her by the treaty of Pressburg all her possessions in Italy and on the Adriatic.

Great Britain was again isolated, but, six weeks before Austerlitz, Nelson had shattered the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar. No hostile fleet could again take the seas after that great victory. Napoleon professed to ignore it; he believed that he had another way of bringing England to her knees—but it was a way that could not in fact succeed, so long as her fleets swept the seas unchallenged though his own supremacy on the continent might seem indisputable. To that supremacy a challenge came from an unexpected quarter. Prussia declared war.

Before she did so, Napoleon had turned Ferdinand out of Naples, set up his own brother Joseph as king, and made another kingdom for another brother, Louis, out of the Netherlands and the Batavian Republic. The western German principalities combined in the Confederation of the Rhine, with the military forces at the service of the French emperor; and the German emperor Francis proclaimed himself "Austrian" instead of "Holy Roman" emperor.

In the two battles of Jena and Auerstädt, the Prussian armies were shattered on a single day (October 14, 1806). A fortnight later Napoleon was in Berlin. with Prussia under his heel. Napoleon issued the Berlin decrees, followed next year by the Milan decrees, which were intended to bring Great Britain to her knees by closing all European ports to British commerce and declaring all British ports to be under blockade. The British replied by successive orders in council which declared all ports that refused to admit British shipping to be under blockade. The British had a fleet to enforce their blockade, and Napoleon had none—and the British made sure that he should continue to have none by seizing the neutral Danish fleet.

Napoleon found no serious difficulty in reaching an amicable arrangement with Alexander in a conference held on a raft in midstream on the Niemen, the issue of which was the treaty of Tilsit (1807). In effect the tsar was to have a free hand in the East and Napoleon in the West. Russia was to maintain what Napoleon called the "Continental System" of excluding British goods from the Continent (on the mistaken assumption that

**TALLEYRAND THE DIPLOMATIST**

As foreign minister under the first Consul, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754-1838) had wide scope for his remarkable diplomatic talents. Later, he headed the anti-Napoleonic faction. François Gérard painted this portrait.

*From Seidlitz, "Porträwerk," Brückmann A.G.*

the Continent would or could do without them). Frederick William was to be reinstated in some half of his kingdom, virtually as Napoleon's vassal. Half of the rest was to provide a kingdom of Westphalia for the youngest Bonaparte, Jerome; the other half—the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw"—went to the king (hitherto elector) of Saxony. Once more Britain was isolated. But while

the Continental System did gravely increase her difficulties, it strangled Europe, to which British or British-borne goods were a necessity—and Europe began to feel that it was Napoleon who was strangling her.

Denmark's hostility to England was now a matter of course. Sweden persisted in friendliness to her, but could be left to the tender mercies of Russia.

NAPOLEON AS EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH

As a result of a plébiscite taken on the subject of the imperial title, Napoleon became emperor of the French on May 18, 1804. At the coronation ceremony, which took place in Notre Dame on December 2, 1804, Napoleon waved aside the pope and crowned himself. This portrait is by H. Lefèvre.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Neurdein*

Presently she took matters into her own hands, deposed Gustavus IV, set his uncle Charles XIII on the throne, and invited his adoption of the brilliant French marshal Bernadotte as his heir.

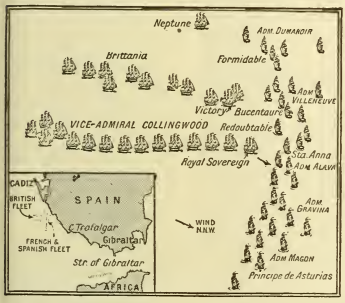
Spain was subservient, but Portugal still obstinately refused to enter the Continental System. A French army under Junot marched across Spain to Lisbon, and the Portuguese royal family sailed for Brazil. Junot took over the administration. Napoleon wanted a more complete control in Spain, where Carlos IV and the crown prince Ferdinand were quarreling. He prevailed on both to abdicate, while a complaisant gathering of nobles elected the king of Naples, Joseph Bonaparte, to the throne, and the vacated throne of Naples was passed to Marshal Murat.

So matters stood in the summer of 1808, when the Spanish people rose against the foreign usurper, and the British government resolved to intervene; with the result that for the next five years a quarter of a million or more of Napoleon's troops and some of his best generals were constantly locked up in Spain, vainly endeavoring to crush the insurgents and to drive the British out of the base provided by Portugal; whence year by year the British general Arthur Wellesley—presently viscount and finally duke of Wellington—delivered deadly thrusts against one or other of the French armies.

In April Wellseley arrived at Lisbon to take the command; in May he surprised Soult at Oporto and flung him out of Portugal; and in July he won victory at Talavera. In the autumn an expedition was sent to Walcheren for the reduction of Antwerp; it failed disastrously. Wellington had perforce contented himself with the preparation of the impregnable "lines of Torres Vedras," covering Lisbon, where he held Masséna up through the winter of 1810-11 till the French were in effect starved into retreat. Marmont took Masséna's place, and was decisively defeated at Salamanca in 1812; and only in 1813, when Napoleon had already suffered his Moscow disaster,

the battle was fought at Vittoria which drove the French armies across the Pyrenees.

Affairs in Europe, after Tilsit, seemed at first to go smoothly. Napoleon permitted in Prussia the appointment of Stein as a minister from whom he looked for financial reforms by which he himself would ultimately profit. Stein set about a much wider reorganization, inaugurating, *inter alia,* a new system of army organization. Napoleon awoke to the danger and Stein had to flee; but the work was carried on by Hardenberg and Scharnhorst. Still all seemed to be well when Napoleon was called from an ostentatiously friendly conference of the monarchs at Erfurt by the revolt of Spain in 1808. When he returned from Spain, all was not so well.




Austria, too, was reorganizing. Napoleon had taken Tyrol from her and presented it to his protégé the Bavarian elector. Austrian armies marched on Bavaria in April, 1809; the Tyrolese, ever loyal to the Hapsburgs, rose and flung out the Bavarians. Before the month was out Napoleon, marching on Vienna, inflicted a series of defeats, on successive days, on the archduke Charles. Before he could reach Vienna, however, he met with a serious reverse at Aspern-Essling; but in July he won at Wagram a victory which was, but need not have been, decisive. His reward was the Treaty of Vienna (October) making Austria almost a dependency, which was supplemented next year by his marriage to the Austrian emperor's sister, Marie Louise—an alliance for the sake of which he divorced Josephine.

The Corsican adventurer had forced his way into the innermost circle of the royal families, but he could not keep British goods out of Europe. The tsar was tiring of the deprivation of goods his people wanted, and he, too, began to

**BRILLIANT NAVAL VICTORY THAT MADE BRITAIN MISTRESS OF THE SEA**

Nelson's annihilating defeat of the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, on October 21, 1805, established British maritime supremacy. Reproduced for the first time in 1928, this sketch representing the battle was drawn by Admiral Spencer Smyth, who was himself there. Bearing down upon the enemy in two parallel lines (see plan and inset map above), Nelson and Collingwood broke the French line at two points, and nearly every enemy ship was captured or destroyed.

*Courtesy of "The Daily Telegraph"*

admit them. From 1810 the rift between the autocrats grew. In 1812 it had become a gulf, and Napoleon resolved to bring the tsar to reason.

Napoleon did not see that Russia was vitally invulnerable. He took Moscow for her heart; he gathered the mightiest army he had yet commanded and launched it upon her. A month before Wellington's victory at Salamanca the Grand Army was over the Niemen (June). The Russian armies retreated continuously, enticing Napoleon farther and farther from his base, to Smolensk, giving battle only in rearguard actions. In September they halted and faced him at the Bridge of Borodino. A week later Napoleon reached Moscow. On the same night half the city was in flames.

After another month the Grand Army began its retreat (October 19). It could only march back over the old devastated ground, with the Russians harassing it on flank and rear. Dwindling always, it struggled on its desperate way; it was still on the march when the Russian winter fell and made still more complete what was already an irreparable disaster. It was only an infinitesimal remnant of the Grand Army that struggled back over the Prussian frontier in December. Napoleon had hastened ahead and was already working titanically to retrieve the catastrophe.

**NELSON'S DEATH MASK**

A death mask of Lord Nelson was taken immediately after his death at Trafalgar. This cast is now preserved in the Portsmouth Dockyard Museum.

*Photo, Stephen Cribb*

Prussia was an ally—but Yorck, the Prussian commander in the eastern district, threw over the government and declared for Russia. In March Prussia declared war on Napoleon.

Napoleon raised new armies, though he had to draw heavily on the army in Spain. He rejected offers of mediation from Metternich; he inflicted two defeats on the Prussians and Russians; he rejected fresh terms offered by Metternich, and Austria, followed by Sweden, joined the new coalition. Wellington shattered the main French army in Spain at Vittoria (June) and drove it through the Pyrenees. Napoleon won another great victory over the allied forces at Dresden in August, but in October his foes were swarming round him; after the "battle of the nations" at Leipzig, the struggle became desperate. Marmont at Paris capitulated on March 31.

In plain terms, Napoleon was overwhelmed. He abdicated, unconditionally (April 11). The allies permitted him to retain the imperial title, but nothing else, and exiled him to the "principality" of Elba in the Mediterranean.

NAPOLEON being out of the way, the victorious powers took charge of Europe. Between them they laid down the main lines for immediate settlement by the Treaty of Paris, postponing details to a congress, to be held at Vienna in winter. Royalist influences procured the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in France in the person of Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, who was required to accept a constitution: the French boundaries were to be as before the first hostilities broke out in 1792. The war had given many French and Dutch colonies to Great Britain; for the most part she restored them, though she retained Cape Colony, which she had occupied in 1806 with the assent of the exiled stadtholder, in return for cash. In Italy, Austria retained Venetia, while Murat remained in Naples.

The congress met at Vienna in November. The interests to be consulted were those not of populations but of

princes, but the claims or demands were so difficult to reconcile that before long it seemed that Napoleon's conquerors would be fighting each other.

### Napoleon's Return and Final Defeat

ENCOURAGED by the dissensions of the powers and the disfavor with which France viewed the Bourbon restoration, Napoleon resolved to grasp at dominion once more. He slipped from Elba, landed at Cannes on March 1, called upon France to support him, appealed to the soldiers sent against him by the government, and to the marshals; of whom those who had not taken the new oath of allegiance, and Ney, who had done so, joined his standard. He marched on Paris at the head of a constantly increasing force, and Louis fled. The powers at Vienna proclaimed him the public enemy of Europe on March 13; on March 30 he proclaimed himself emperor in Paris.

Russia and Austria were a long way off—their armies would not be ready for months; Prussia was comparatively ready

FREDERICK WILLIAM III OF PRUSSIA

His subjects loved Frederick William III of Prussia (1770-1840) for his kind heart and simple ways. Yet his statecraft was marred by weakness and inconsistency, which left him largely at the mercy of stronger personalities.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE

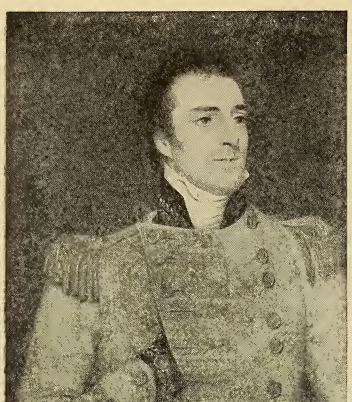
After his attainment of supreme power Napoleon made his eldest brother Joseph (1768-1844) king of Naples, and, in 1808, king of Spain, where his nominal authority lasted until Wellington's victory at Vittoria in 1813.

*Engraving after Mme. Kinson, British Museum*

to take the field, and the British army, always numerically small. Wellington took the command, in Belgium, of a mixed force, half British, the other half North Germans, Belgians and Dutch, the two last being, at best, half-hearted in the cause. There was no half-heartedness about the Prussians who came up under Blücher. But Napoleon was swifter than his adversaries. He was ready to strike before Wellington and Blücher had completed their junction.

On June 15 he sprang on Charleroi, which the Prussians held; next day he flung himself on the Prussian position at Ligny and Blücher fell back, not on Namur, but on Wavre.

The British had held up Ney at Quatre Bras. Wellington, covering Brussels, concentrated on the Waterloo Ridge, where it was Blücher's aim to effect his junction. This he did—Grouchy, who had been dispatched in pursuit, having strayed on a false scent—in the late afternoon of June 18 when Wellington



**BRITISH GENERALS WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE PENINSULAR WAR**

In 1808 Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore (1761-1809) was in command of the British troops in Portugal; he fell in a victorious rearguard action at Corunna in 1809. This great soldier, shown in Sir T. Lawrence's painting (right) did distinguished work in training the infantry. Left: Robert Home's portrait shows Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852) in 1806—he became duke of Wellington in 1814. His series of victories against Napoleon's armies culminated in Waterloo.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

had been barely holding his ground for half a day against Napoleon's onslaught. The unexpected appearance of the Prussians on Napoleon's right flank was decisive; the British hurled back the last desperate attack of the Old Guard, on the French left, while the Prussians stormed in on their right; the defeat became a rout, and the rout a headlong flight. Napoleon's army had ceased to exist. When the emperor reached Paris he found himself without supporters. For the second time he abdicated, and then, finding escape impossible, surrendered to the commander of the British frigate Bellerophon. The "Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars" were ended.

The era of those wars in Europe was also in England and Scotland the era which established the Industrial Revolution, which, having its beginning in the British Isles, revolutionized the economic conditions and in many respects the whole social structure of the world in the course of the nineteenth century. In its beginnings it substituted manufacture for agriculture as the main industry of the islands, along with the commerce which led Napoleon to refer contemptuously to the English as a "nation of shop-keepers." It had already been inaugurated by the inventions which first developed water power and then applied steam power to the production of goods hitherto manufactured by hand. The steam-driven machinery and the enormous accompanying increase in the use of iron, of steel the product of iron, and of coal, deprived the agricultural population of the by-industries by which the yeoman and the cottager had hitherto supplemented their livelihood; large-scale farming was proving itself infinitely more productive than small-scale farming; and the yeoman practically disappeared, while the cottagers were driven from the countryside

to seek, but by no means always to find, employment in the towns which grew up round the new machinery.

The numbers of the population increased rapidly; machinery increased production tenfold with half the labor, while the market for the goods expanded, but not with equal rapidity since Europe was submerged in war; and for the time there was no employment for half the displaced labor. But the new machinery was a British monopoly; the raw materials for the new manufactures—coal, iron, cotton and wool—were available in far greater quantity than elsewhere; and Britain secured a lead in manufacturing capacity which set her out of reach of competition for three-quarters of a century. At the close of our period, however, the second stage of the revolution, the stage which applied mechanical power to locomotion and transport, was still undeveloped though the first steam-boats had been built.

A reluctant Ireland was incorporated in the United Kingdom in 1801, but without the Catholic emancipation promised and demanded as a condition. It failed, largely for that reason, to effect such a genuine union as that which had resulted from the incorporation of England and Scotland as Great Britain a century earlier. On the other hand, Great Britain, immediately before the French Revolution, had annexed in the eastern ocean the continent of Australia, where there was only a very sparse population still in a state of the most primitive culture known to Western travelers. The new lands were occupied primarily for the deportation of criminals, but were soon found to offer promise for

SUFFERINGS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

The impossibility of wintering in Moscow, ruined by fire and pillage, compelled Napoleon to begin the celebrated retreat in October, 1812. The troops of his Grand Army suffered terrible hardships and losses in the ensuing march, pursued by the enemy, and enduring the cold of a Russian winter. Atkinson's picture, published in 1813, conveys some idea of the appalling conditions under which the shivering, starving troops encamped for the night.

*Aquatint by M. Dubourg, British Museum*

LOUIS XVIII OF FRANCE

This portrait by François Gerard, first painter to the king, shows Louis XVIII, in whose person the Bourbon monarchy was restored to France in 1814. Upon Napoleon's escape from Elba he fled the country but returned after Waterloo.

*From Seidlitz, "Porträtwerk," Brückmann A.G.*

colonization, though as yet they attracted few adventurers.

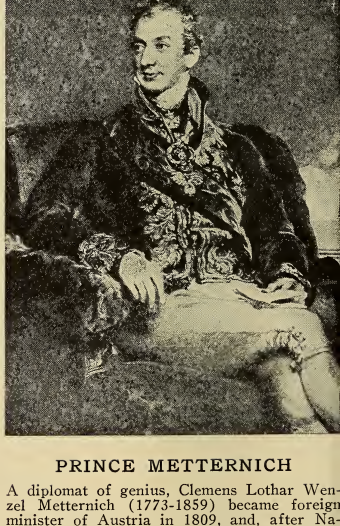
In India the efforts made under the French Republic to recover French influence at the courts of the greater potentates, imposed upon British governors, the Marquess Wellesley (Wellington's elder brother) and his successors, the necessity of military operations first against Tippu Sultan (Tippoo Sahib) of Mysore, and then against the Maratha confederacy, which in turn involved annexations of territory (failing which no native power regarded itself as having been defeated) that passed under direct British administration, and the assumption of something like sovereignty over the potentates themselves.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, changes had been brought about in Canada by the migration thither of the United Empire Loyalists from the former colonies which had separated themselves from the Empire. While Lower Canada remained mainly French in its institutions, this new population in Upper Canada was essentially British; and Canada was divided into two separate governments, the Upper presently known as Ontario and the Lower as Quebec, while both were separate from the colony on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, the Acadia of old times when it was the scene of Longfellow's poem "Evangeline."

Both Central and South America still continued to be subject to the Spanish crown, and attempts to foster revolt from Spain during the war failed ignominiously.

### Problems of Neutrality in America

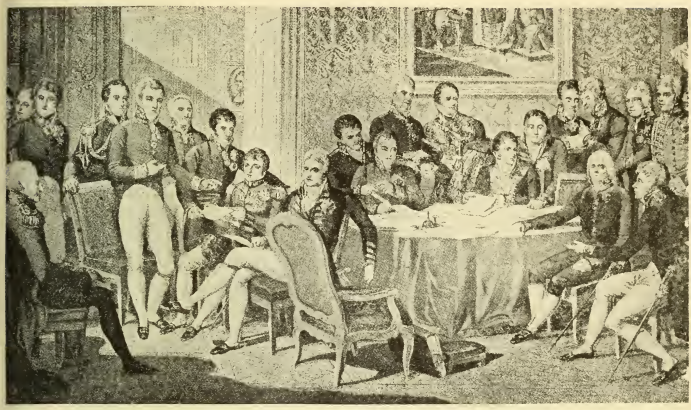
THE thirteen states, once British colonies, which had achieved their independence in 1783 were faced with the problem of transforming themselves into a united state. Financial reconstruction was the first necessity. The debts



PRINCE METTERNICH

A diplomat of genius, Clemens Lothar Wenzel Metternich (1773-1859) became foreign minister of Austria in 1809, and, after Napoleon's fall in 1815, dominated European politics. Sir Thomas Lawrence painted this portrait of him.

*From Seidlitz, "Porträtwerk," Brückmann A.G.*



PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE GREAT POWERS AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The astonishing return of Napoleon from Elba interrupted the deliberations of the congress which met at Vienna in 1814 to reorganize the political system of Europe after the upheaval it had undergone during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Its agreements were signed, however, on June 9, 1815, by Austria, Prussia, Russia, Britain, France, Sweden, Spain and Portugal. This lithograph by Dorndorf after Jean Baptiste Isabey's picture shows a session of the Congress.

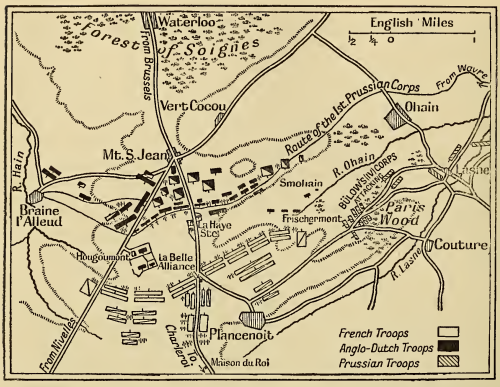
of the several states were taken over by the Federal government, and a national bank was established on the analogy of the Bank of England.

Washington could not resist the practically universal insistence on his retaining the presidency for a second term of four years, at the moment when France, at war with Great Britain, was urging the new nation, whose "liberation" she had materially assisted, to renew the offensive alliance. Neutrality was the obvious interest of the United States, and she remained neutral.

### Impressment of American Seamen

GREAT BRITAIN claimed the right to stop merchant ships at sea to hunt for deserters from the British navy, and if a British sailor was found he was removed. The increasing trade of the United States had resulted in a great demand for sailors, and consequently in a higher rate of pay than other nations offered. Furthermore, service in the American merchant marine was much less dangerous than on British ships, now that England was at war with France. Hence, whenever a British ship put into an American port, some or even all of the crew were likely to desert. The sailors promptly took out American citizenship papers; and although such a transfer of citizenship was contrary to international law, it was considered valid by Americans at that time. The irritation and inconvenience suffered by British commanders, due to the American encouragement of illegal desertion by English sailors, has been well described by Henry Adams, the greatest American authority on this period:

Every English vessel which entered a Virginia port was at once abandoned by her crew, who hastened to enter the public or private ships of the United States. The captain of any British frigate which might happen to run into the harbor of New York, if he went ashore, was likely to meet on his return to the wharf some of his boat's crew strolling about the town, every man supplied with papers of American citizenship. This was the more annoying because American




## THE OPPOSING ARMIES AT WATERLOO

In this plan, showing the disposition of the opposing forces south of Waterloo, Wellington's army (top), with infantry in front and cavalry behind, faces the farm of La Haye Sainte and the château of Hougoumont. On the right is the road to Wavre, whence came Blücher's relieving contingent.

agents in British ports habitually claimed and received the benefit of British law (to the effect that sailors could not change their citizenship) while so far as the American papers were concerned, no pretense was made of concealing the fraud, but they were issued in any required quantity, and for a payment of a few dollars these citizenship papers were transferred from hand to hand.

Great Britain, involved in a life and death struggle with France, could ill afford to lose sailors. According to the international usage of the day, England was quite within her rights in stopping a trading vessel on the high seas and taking from it a former British citizen. But each side in the controversy felt that the other was acting outrageously. American sea-captains sometimes encouraged British sailors to forge papers of American citizenship, and English captains sometimes seized sailors who were actually American citizens.

### The Jay Treaty

In the hope of avoiding war Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to England to negotiate a treaty by which he hoped that satisfactory arrangements could be made in regard to England's giving up the western posts, as to the rights of neutral trade, and the impressment of seamen. The British government would not surrender the so-called "right of search," but she gave up the western posts and agreed to pay for all provision ships which were captured while bound for France. Equally important the treaty gave the United States limited trading rights with the West and East Indies, rights which greatly helped the growth of American shipping. In re

## THE DERELICT CHÂTEAU OF HOUGOUMONT

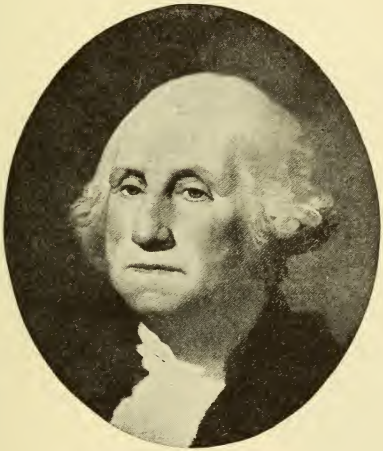
Fierce French attacks upon the château of Hougoumont, protecting Wellington's right at Waterloo, reduced it to this skeleton building shown in S. Wharton's sketch made after the battle. Jerome Bonaparte's efforts to storm the château were repulsed by the valor of a detachment of the Guards.

*From Wharton, "Twelve Views of Waterloo," 1816*

turn the United States agreed not to export cotton while England and France remained at war. The great significance of the Treaty has often been overlooked, namely, that it preserved peace, so essential to the organization and solidification of the new country.

Washington could not be persuaded to enter on a third presidential term, and from 1797 the presidential elections became a party question. John Adams, a Federalist, became president, but jealousies between him and Hamilton split the party, and the next president was the Democrat Jefferson (1801). The change was accompanied by a redistribution of offices on the disastrous principle of "the spoils to the victor."

In 1803 Napoleon purchased American friendship by selling Louisiana, which he had acquired from Spain, to Jefferson—a transaction which implied the possession of powers by the Federal government incompatible with Republican belief in sovereign "States' rights."



**FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT**

The skill of George Washington (1732-99), who became the first president of the United States in 1789, effected a compromise between the two antagonistic parties that divided the U. S. A. Gilbert Stuart painted this portrait in 1797.

FRICTION soon arose again between the United States and the British over Great Britain's claim to the right of "visit and search" and to prevent neutral trading with her enemies—a comfortable doctrine for the mistress of the seas, and one which she could not afford to discard.

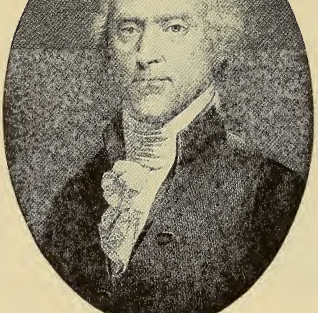
**Between British and French Millstones**

IN 1803 war was resumed between England and France. By 1805 Napoleon was supreme on land, but England ruled the seas.

Napoleon and the British adopted regulations which injured not only each other but neutrals as well. Lord Nelson's destruction of a French fleet at Trafalgar in 1805 made it impossible for Napoleon to harm British commerce by a direct naval attack. Therefore, he tried to ruin it by commercial measures designed to destroy British trade with the continent of Europe. Since Prussia at this period was under French domination, Napoleon, through the Berlin Decree of 1806, pronounced all Prussian ports closed to British shipping. England replied by "Orders in Council" blockading all the ports from the Elbe River to Brest, a distance of eight hundred miles. Even though the French navy was very weak, Napoleon, by the Milan Decree of 1807, then declared all the ports of England closed to trade. Finally, after more bickering back and forth, Napoleon proclaimed that his ships would capture, if possible, any neutral ship which allowed an English ship to search her. These English and French rules, if strictly enforced, would have barred American shipping from practically every important European port.

So many American vessels were captured under the regulations adopted by the English and the French, that in 1807 Congress passed the Embargo Act by which American ships were forbidden to sail for foreign ports. It was thought that an embargo on American shipping would cause so much hardship to both England and France that they would promise to let neutral shipping alone in order to have the embargo removed. The

embargo, however, was in reality a help to France, and England did not suffer from its restrictions as much as United States itself. Shut off from all foreign markets, the southern cotton planters faced financial ruin, and the shipping interests of New England and the Middle Atlantic States also suffered severely. Thirty thousand seamen in New England alone were thrown out of employment. Moreover, the opening of the Spanish-American ports to the British in 1808



**THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Secretary of state under Washington in 1790, and president 1801-9, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) led the Democratic Republican party which upheld the sovereignty of the individual states.

made the American embargo less of a blow to British trade than would normally have been the case. Further, a great smuggling trade developed on Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and Lake Champlain. However, cut off from foreign supplies, Americans began to manufacture those articles most in demand in the United States.

By 1809 the Americans were so hostile to the embargo that it was removed and the Non-Importation Act was substituted. American ships were allowed to trade with all foreign countries except England and France and their colonies and dependencies; but this policy had to be abandoned also. Then American ships were permitted, so far as the United States government was concerned, to trade with all the world. The administration, however, could not give up the idea of retaliating against at least one of the belligerents, and it was finally decided that if either England or France would agree not to interfere with American shipping, the Non-Importation Act would be revived against the other. Napoleon took advantage of the offer and promised to remove the restrictions against American shipping, and, after a great deal of opposition, Congress decided to enforce the Non-Importation Act against Great Britain. Napoleon then failed to keep his promise, but he had accomplished what he desired: he had turned American antipathy and practical opposition against Britain.

### The War Party in America

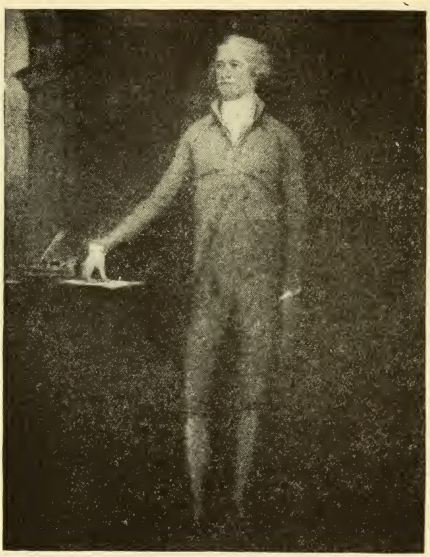
In 1808 James Madison was elected President by the Democrat-Republican party, and he was reëlected in 1812. Prosperity had returned to some extent, but relations with Great Britain were becoming constantly more strained. Nevertheless, there was no general demand for war against England. In 1811, however, Secretary of State James Monroe, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, led an aggressive war party in Congress. They were young and impulsive, and they demanded what they called a war to vindicate our national honor. They were nicknamed the "War Hawks."

The policy of the War Hawks was furthered by an Indian uprising in the Northwest, under Tecumseh and his brother, the "Prophet," the leaders of the Indians of this region. The anti-British party in Congress laid the blame of the uprising on the English, having found English guns and ammunition on the dead Indians, and they were louder than ever in their demand for war.

In the fall of 1811 Congress met in special session to consider the existing situation. The members were divided on the question of the advisability of a war with England, but the representatives from the South and the West favored war, but the New Englanders were bit-

terly opposed, and truthfully declared that there was no more cause to fight England than France. The nation chose to fight England rather than France in part because of traditional rivalry, but Henry Clay, a typical representative of the nationalistic New West, thought that once America was at war with England, Canada could be seized and annexed to the United States. Moreover, such a war seemed to offer an opportunity of gaining Florida from Spain, England's ally.

In the spring of 1812 the war faction gained control and in June a declaration of war against England was issued, although England had, just at this very time, removed her restrictions on American shipping—a fact which owing to lack of a transatlantic cable, was not known for some weeks. The declaration stated that war was caused by England's blockading the ports of the United States in order to prevent American ships from sailing; by her interference with shipping; by her impressment of American sailors; and by her inviting to violence the Indians on the frontiers.



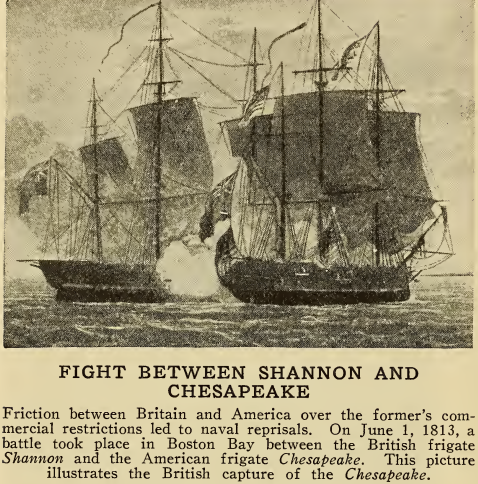
**ALEXANDER HAMILTON**

John Trumbull's portrait of the great American statesman and soldier (now in the New York Chamber of Commerce) gives an excellent idea of one of the most attractive and brilliant figures of the Revolutionary period, creator of the national administrative system and of the national bank.

### The War of 1812

THAT Canada was the real objective of the war party is seen from the military movements. Three armies were sent toward different sections of the Canadian boundary. There were no roads leading north, and all three armies encountered the greatest difficulties. General Hull had command of the army designed to invade Canada by way of Detroit. After he had held Detroit for a short time he found himself cut off from reinforcements, and in the face of a combined attack from the English and Indians he had to surrender the fort and his army. Forts Mackinac and Dearborn were then forced to surrender, and the fur trade and the control of the Indians in the Michigan Territory passed into the hands of the English.

The second army, under the command of General Van Rensselaer, crossed the Niagara River and made an attack on Queenstown, Canada. This resulted in a victory for the United States, but soon afterwards Van Rensselaer also had to surrender. A great many Loyalists and their descendants were living in the section of Canada which he had invaded. Harsh treatment during the Revolution had driven them from the United States, and they quite naturally bore resentment against their southern neighbors. When the armies of the United States began to enter the Loyalists' adopted country, they seized their guns and went forth to meet the invaders with the same ardor that the American patriots had shown thirty-seven years before when they attacked the British at Lexington



**FIGHT BETWEEN SHANNON AND CHESAPEAKE**

Friction between Britain and America over the former's commercial restrictions led to naval reprisals. On June 1, 1813, a battle took place in Boston Bay between the British frigate *Shannon* and the American frigate *Chesapeake*. This picture illustrates the British capture of the *Chesapeake*.

*Engraving after Whitcombe*

and Concord. This attitude of the Canadians was a great surprise to the Americans.

General Dearborn, who commanded the third army, halted at the northern boundary of New York when he heard that the other armies had been captured. The three armies had planned a joint attack on Montreal and Quebec which now had to be abandoned. The military movements of the first year of the war thus ended in dismal failures, and even the War Hawks gave up the idea of conquering Canada.

Although the navy under the Democrat-Republicans had been reduced to a small number of ships, there were many fine American merchant vessels. Congress gave these merchantmen permission to carry guns and to capture British ships, and they did a vast amount of harm to British shipping during the early months of the war. Some of the American ships covered themselves with great glory. It is estimated that more than a thousand English ships were captured by the privateers and the little American navy. Before the war had been going on very long, however, the British blockaded American ports so effectively that only a few ships were able t slip through and reac the open sea. The chie naval defeat of th United States was th capture of the ill-fate *Chesapeake* by the *Shan non* in June, 1813.

The English blockad became so effective tha nearly all America ocean commerce cease Some produce was smug gled in and out past th blockading ships, but fo the most part American were thrown on thei own resources. Th blockade was finally s complete that it was im possible even to continu the coast trade betwee the North and the South This difficulty was i part overcome by usin wagon trains whic transported to the Sout the manufactured ar ticles of the North, such as shoes, cottor cloth, flour, and the like, returning wit loads of cotton and rice. It is estimate that four thousand wagons were engage in this overland trade.

The disastrous results of the first yea of the war did not discourage the Ameri cans. The victories on the ocean and th eloquence of Henry Clay made it possibl to raise a volunteer army in the West "Old Tippecanoe," as William Henr Harrison was called, was placed in com mand, and the Americans determined t regain the territory around Detroit. A first Harrison made little headway, fo the British controlled Lake Erie, the ke to the military situation. Oliver Hazar Perry was then instructed to drive th British from the lake and on Septembe 10, 1813, with nine small vessels buil from trees which grew along the shore Perry captured the British squadron "We have met the enemy and they ar ours—two brigs, one schooner, and on sloop," was the brief report that Perr made of his victory. With great re joicing, Harrison and his army crosse the lake on Perry's boats, and shortl afterwards they defeated the English an the Indians at the Battle of the Thames

Tecumseh was killed, and during the remainder of the war the British received little aid from the Indians. The Battle of the Thames restored American control of the Michigan Territory.

The following year an army under General Scott succeeded in crossing the Canadian boundary near Niagara Falls. There were fought the battles of Lundy's Lane and Chippewa Falls. Although not defeated, Scott's army was unable to advance any farther.

In the spring of 1814 England and her allies forced Napoleon to abdicate the French throne, and England then had more ships and men available for her war with the United States. Two British armies were soon sent to America; one was to invade the United States from Canada while the second was to attack the Chesapeake Bay region. The army designed to invade the United States from Canada planned to reach New York City by the way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, the route Burgoyne had tried to follow during the Revolutionary War. General Provost led this army and he had the support of a fleet on Lake Champlain. Before the English invasion was fairly under way, however, Commodore MacDonough captured the British fleet, and Provost was obliged to return to Canada.

**HENRY CLAY, 1778-1852**

In 1811 he became Speaker of the House of Representatives and with Calhoun swung the nation to war with England. In 1814 he was a peace commissioner, 1825-29 Secretary of State under J. Q. Adams, in 1850 author of slavery compromise.

In the summer of 1814, the second English army, under the command of Major-General Ross, supported by a fleet, began operations in Chesapeake Bay. Earlier in the war the American soldiers had burned York, Ontario, then the capital of Canada, and in retaliation the British burned part of Washington. The army then reëmbarked and landed in the vicinity of Baltimore where a combined land and naval attack was planned. The British fleet began a bombardment of Fort McHenry at the entrance of the harbor. Soon news came that the land at-

**DEATH OF TECUMSEH**

Encouraged by British agents this Shawnee Indian Chief tried to unite the Middle Western Indians against the encroaching whites. The British made him a brigadier-general, but he was killed in action on Oct. 5, 1813, in the Battle of the Thames. This contemporary print shows the quaint high hats once worn by American soldiers.

tack had been given up, because of the spirited resistance of the militia and the death of Major-General Ross. The fleet thereupon stopped firing and Baltimore was saved. It was during the attack on Baltimore that Francis Scott Key wrote what has become the national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The British forces then sailed for New Orleans. The American army in this region was under the command of Andrew Jackson, a famous Indian fighter. He threw up entrenchments and when the British attacked on January 8, 1815, they were defeated with great loss. This bloody battle occurred after the treaty of peace had actually been signed.

As the war continued, business activity became more and more depressed. Ocean commerce was destroyed, and fine merchant ships lay rotting at the wharves. The New Englanders had never given their approval to the war. In fact, many actually traded with the enemy through northern New York and Canada, as well as at sea. When ruin stared many of them in the face they grew desperate. The Federalists of New England, led by Timothy Pickering, held a convention at Hartford, Connecticut, at which they secretly discussed measures which they hoped would end the war; they advocated an amendment to the Constitution to make a two-thirds vote of Congress necessary: (1) for a declaration of war, (2) for the admission of new states, and (3) for stopping commerce with a foreign power. Scarcely had the convention adjourned when the war came to an end. The Federalist leaders who had taken part in the convention were politically ruined, because many people thought it was next to treason to hold such a meeting while the country was at war.

### The Treaty of Ghent

Before the battle had been fought, the English and American commissioners at Ghent had concluded a treaty on December 24, 1814. Neither nation gained anything whatever by the treaty, except peace. Nothing was said about the impressment of seamen, the right to search, or of the rights of neutrals in war time. The military and naval movements were at best a draw.

The War of 1812 had aroused very bitter feelings on both sides, but within two years of its close, the British and the American governments had taken one very important step to prevent war between them from occurring again. By an informal agreement made in 1817, even before the location of the boundary separating the United States and Canada had been settled, the two governments promised each other to do away with all fortifications along its three thousand miles. In spite of one or two local disturbances since, this promise had been loyally observed.

# ETHICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE REVOLUTION

## INNER HISTORY OF THE GREAT UPHEAVAL THAT ENDED THE ANCIENT RÉGIME IN FRANCE AND SHOOK THE CIVILIZED WORLD

By H. D. DICKINSON

*Lecturer in Economic History, University of Leeds*

HISTORIANS usually consider the French Revolution as extending from the convening of the States-General in 1789 to Bonaparte's coup d'état in 1799. During this time took place the political events which embodied in the outward shape of laws and institutions that mighty movement of the human spirit known as the French Revolution. But a study of the ethics and economics of the Revolution must begin much earlier than this and continue for some time after.

Like all great movements, it had its roots deep in the past, and one must know something about social and economic conditions of pre-revolutionary France (usually referred to as the 'ancien régime') in order to have a proper understanding of the thought of that time and of the events of the Revolution itself.

Five things characterized the 'ancien régime': 1. Autocracy of the king and his ministers. 2. Division of the people into hereditary orders, some with legal and fiscal privileges. 3. Anomaly, lack of unity, and inefficiency in the administration. 4. Absence of civil rights and liberty of opinion. 5. The 'substitute system.'

At the head of the whole social and governmental system stood the king, first among monarchs in Europe for prestige and splendor, wielder of theoretically absolute power over nobility and people, appearing, even at the very eve of the Revolution, more politically stable and more firmly enthroned in the people's heart than any other ruler in Europe.

In the second place, below the king the population was divided into three estates or orders—clergy, noblesse and the 'tiers état' (third estate, i.e. those who were not clergy or noblesse, comprising the whole of the bourgeoisie as well as peasants and artisans). These orders were not simply social classes, such as we have to-day, but well-defined divisions of the body politic on a basis of heredity (in the case of the last two) or of function (in the case of the clergy and part of the noblesse), each having a definite civil and legal status with definite and different rights and responsibilities. Not only was the position of each order different, but there was a marked inequality between them. As regards liability to taxation, eligibility to public office, treatment by the authorities and even by judicial tribunals, the first two orders were privileged in comparison with the third. To a member of the tiers état it appeared that all the rights were on one side and all the duties on the other. Moreover, there were class divisions and privileged groups within the orders. It is this differentiation of civil rights and duties according to status that distinguishes the ancien régime from the modern state, in which equality before the law is established.

The system was, however, not entirely rigid. The church was recruited from the other two orders, but owing to royal and noble patronage all the positions of wealth and power were the preserve of the noblesse and the wealthier bourgeoisie, while the peasants' sons who became parish priests occupied livings worth, in many cases, little more than a laborer's wage. Many offices, carrying with them noble status, were purchasable, and by this means the wealthier bourgeois could enter the ranks of the noblesse.

Comprising all the people who were not clergy or noblesse, the third estate was divided into numerous classes. But they had much in common: complete exclusion from political power and responsibility; a load of taxation, made heavier by the exemption of the clergy and noblesse; an inferior civil status and the difficulty of obtaining legal redress against a member

of the privileged orders. Roughly they may be divided into bourgeoisie, artisan class and peasantry.

The bourgeoisie, originally, as its name implies, the inhabitants of the town, was composed of merchants, master manufacturers and professional men. It covered a great range of wealth from the small shopkeeper or master blacksmith up to the great merchant or tax farmer or the large-scale manufacturer. But all sections of this class suffered from heavy taxation, from hampering restrictions on trade and enterprise and from the arbitrariness and slowness of the administration.

**COSTUME OF THE THREE ESTATES**

This print, published in 1789, shows the ceremonial dress worn by deputies of the Three Estates—the clergy, nobility and third estate—when attending sessions of the States-General. From the ribbon that looped up the feathered three-cornered hat of the nobility originated the symbolic cockade of the revolutionaries.

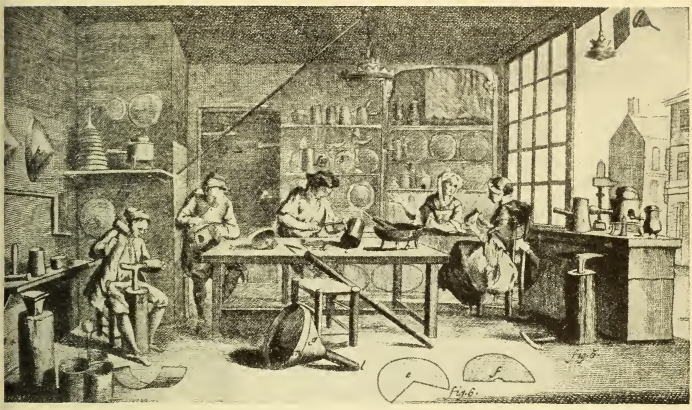
*Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, Giraudon*

The artisans in eighteenth-century France were a large class, whose products went all over the world and in the finer branches of production excelled those of all other countries. All stages of industrial organization were represented. Many workers were still independent craftsmen. Others lived under the domestic system and worked in their own cottages on materials supplied by a middleman. Usually the worker owned his own tools (loom, etc.), but sometimes he hired them from the middleman; the latter might even be the landlord as well, building cottage workshops and letting them out to workers.

In the towns there was much handicraft manufacture; but here, too, capitalism had come in, even where the machine had not. The masters were divided into working masters and merchant masters, the former practically employees of the latter who often had considerable capital laid out in commission.

The industrial change that was creeping over England had touched France also. The factors of mechanical invention, an expanding market and a surplus of capital seeking investment existed in both countries. To a greater extent than in England a paternal government was ready to encourage with subsidies and privileges the foundation of industries that were expected to bring prosperity to the state. All over the country manufactures had been established showing the now familiar features of production on a large scale, the use of machinery that required the services of many workers at once and was too costly for one working master to own, and, as the necessary consequence of the former, the factory. These fell into two categories: the royal manufactures, run by shareholders under a royal charter and enjoying special privileges; and the free manufactures, run by the private enterprise of individuals or of partners and enjoying no privileges except, in some cases, the negative one of exemption from corporation control.

In the towns most artisans and tradesmen were organized into corporations, similar to the English guilds of an earlier date, known as 'corporations,' 'maîtrises' or 'jurandes'; they were not so much associations formed for mutual help and protection as organizations imposed from above in order to enforce an elaborate state control of all processes of industry and trade. In the country districts intendants and inspectors still held sway,



**HOME CRAFTS IN FRANCE UNDER THE MONARCHY—THE TIN-SMITH**

A good example of an industry carried on at home on a somewhat larger scale is furnished in this picture of a tin-smith's workshop. On the left one man is shaping a coffee pot on his anvil. At the solid table another, solder pot at hand, is busy soldering, while his mate files an already soldered article so as to receive a lid. Women help in the business, and on the floor are pieces of tin cut into shape for making a funnel and a dish cover.

*From Diderot and d'Alembert, 'L' Encyclopédie; Recueil de Planches'*

but there were no corporations, and hence the workshops of the domestic system tended to be dispersed in small areas in order to escape their control. Here also the free manufactures were chiefly found.

The peasantry, living directly on the produce of the soil, in 1789, as in 1889, formed the bulk of the population. Nearly all the land was held from noble overlords by complicated and vexatious feudal tenures and burdened with an inequitable system of taxation, but even under these unfavorable conditions a large proportion of the peasants had managed to become, virtually, proprietors of their farms. Limited as such proprietorship might be by the feudal charges with which the land was burdened, it nevertheless differed from mere tenancy under lease; the cultivator had some security of tenure, and though the charges on the land might be heavy they were not determined by competition as is a rack-rent. In spite of many evils the condition of the peasants had been improving for half a century. It was not hordes of naked and starving serfs that burned the châteaux and the manorial rolls in 1789, but groups of peasant farmers who had proceeded far along the road of ownership and economic independence.

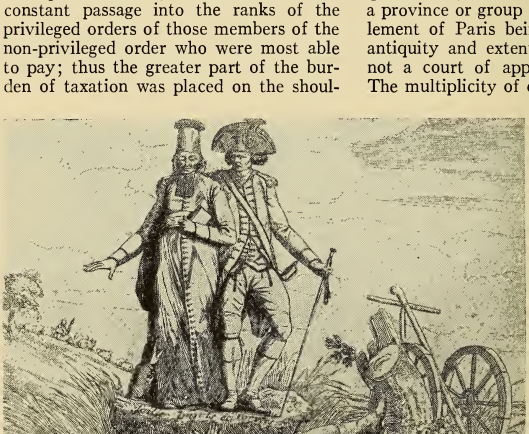
Although the adminstration was centralized, it was not on that account simple or uniform. The provinces were unequal in size and importance and their boundaries were not drawn with any regard for local sentiment or practical convenience. They were allotted by accident of acquisition among three different departments of state, and their internal adminstration was far from uniform.

There was a lack of co-ordination between the different administrative and judicial authorities. There were conflicting jurisdictions; there were areas of which the proper authorities were unknown; on both accounts there was an enormous waste of time in public business. To the delay of the courts, the slowness of the administrative departments and the breakdown—due to too much elaboration of detail—of the system of economic regulation and protection, there must be added the all-pervasive effects of inefficiency, favoritism, influence and corruption.

In particular, the administration of taxes, which is the corner stone of efficient government, was anomalous and imperfect. The methods of assessment and collection, as well as the total amount levied, differed in different parts of the country. The boundaries of fiscal areas frequently ran through parts of towns, so that householders living on one side of a street were subject to burdens from which those on the opposite side were exempt. The 'gabelle' in particular was unpopular, because in many parts of the country not only was it very high but every family was forced by law to purchase a certain stint of salt, much greater than its normal consumption, and to pay the tax thereon. The clergy and the nobility enjoyed exemption from a great deal of direct taxation, although not, of course, from indirect taxation. Since noble rank and ecclesiastical charges were purchasable by wealth, there was a constant passage into the ranks of the privileged orders of those members of the non-privileged order who were most able to pay; thus the greater part of the burden of taxation was placed on the shoulders relatively least able to bear it. With the assessment and collection of the taxes the financial muddle of the ancien régime had only begun. In the absence of any regular system of public accountancy much of the money disappeared before it reached the Treasury, and of the payments out of the Treasury as much as a quarter disappeared without a trace of its destination. It is not hard to understand why, in 1789, national bankruptcy was imminent.

In law, as in taxation, the same anomaly and inefficiency reigned. The south of France was the territory of the written law, a code based on the Roman law but with some local variations. The rest of the land was the territory of French common law, of which there were 128 different systems. These codes were administered in a hierarchy of royal courts, of which the highest were the thirteen 'parlements,' each a supreme tribunal in a province or group of provinces, the Parlement of Paris being the chief, both in antiquity and extent of jurisdiction, but not a court of appeal from the others. The multiplicity of codes and the number of the courts with the corresponding number of appeals made processes lengthy, costly and uncertain.

Criminal jurisprudence was fierce and bloody, even for the eighteenth century. The accused was treated as guilty until his innocence could be proved; he was denied counsel, and until 1780 he was liable to be 'questioned' on the rack. Torture of convicted persons was not abolished till 1788, a year before the assembling of the States-General. Penalties were severe, comparatively small offences being



**CRUSHING BURDENS ON THE PEASANTRY**

As privileged orders the clergy and nobility were exempt from much taxation, while the third estate, including the peasantry—the most useful social class—was crushed under impositions, of which the corvée, or forced labor, was the most hated. An engraving of 1789 thus satirises the system in the bad old days.

*Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, Giraudon*

punished with the galleys, cutting off of the hands or death. Lest the very commonness of the capital sentence should rob it of its terrors, it was carried out in cruel forms. But for the privileged classes the horrors of the criminal law were mitigated; they were entitled to be judged before special tribunals, and for them, even if found guilty, the more painful or degrading accompaniments of punishment were remitted. Over every one who belonged to the tiers état hung the shadow of judicial cruelty —the possibility of unfounded but ruinous accusation, the iniquitous 'question' during the trial, the barbarous punishments of burning, mutilation and breaking on the wheel.

Economically the country showed the same characteristics of anomalous and cumbrous machinery, anomalous divisions and particular privileges as it did administratively. The country was traversed by numerous tariff walls dividing it into so many separate customs areas. A barrel of wine might pay its original value in customs dues on its way to Paris from the south. In the towns the exercise of all crafts and trades was managed by the corporations, which regulated methods of production and maintained a monopoly for their members.

Between the control of the corporations and that of the government, enterprise was stifled and industry was forced into the grooves of routine. The monopolies of the royal manufactures and those of the urban corporations inhibited the free flow of capital into the most productive uses. The restrictions of serfdom and the privileges of the corporations inhibited the flow of labor. The free circulation of commodities was hindered by internal customs barriers. To these obstacles in the way of the maximum development of productive powers add the dilatoriness and expense of the simplest legal process, the facility with which the privileged classes could evade their obligations, and the matter of different systems of weights and measures, as numerous and as arbitrary as the customs areas, the principles of direct taxation or the legal codes, and the wonder is, not that France was on the brink of ruin in 1789, but that she had achieved in the face of so many obstacles such a degree of culture and prosperity.

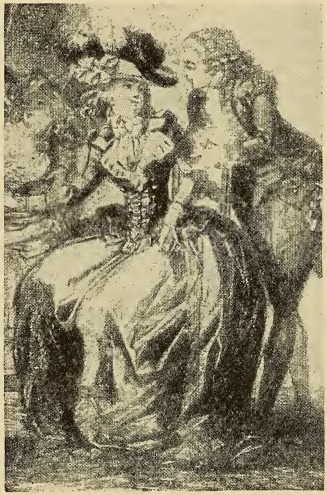
The evils of the ancien régime did not end with class privilege, inequalities and administrative anomalies; they included, as our fourth item, the absence of civil rights and liberty of opinion. No person, however privileged or high in rank, no corporation, however ancient or entrenched in vested interests, had rights that could be made to prevail against the omnipotence of the crown and its ministers. Neither peasant nor noble, neither wealthy merchant nor poor artisan, had any legally guaranteed security of person or property, or any confident expectations of trade or enterprise free from costly licences, vexatious regulations or arbitrary taxes. Not even the greatest scientific or literary minds could express their thoughts freely in speech or print.

The right of personal freedom was denied by the system of 'mainmorte' (serfdom), by the method of judicial procedure and by the arbitrary power conceded to royal officials. The king every year issued a large number of 'lettres-de-cachet' under which individuals could be imprisoned indefinitely without trial. Intended as a sanction for the authority of administrative officials, it was frequently abused for the purpose of gratifying private animosities or of furthering personal ambitions. The full enjoyment of property was likewise denied by the arbitrary action of the administration; cancellation of a privilege or interference in a lawsuit destroyed all feeling of security; exactions of tax collectors took away the fruits of enterprise.

To the political philosopher the most important right of all, because the foundation and condition of all other rights, is the right of free discussion and the free holding of opinion. Now in the France of 1789 there was no liberty of opinion. Three separate authorities exercised a censorship of the press: the royal administration, acting through censors, intendants, the provost of Paris and the police; the Parlement, which had the power of suppressing or prohibiting the publication of books and of confiscating copies and burning them by the common hangman; and lastly the Church. Apart from the books, the government could deal summarily with their authors.

Fortunately, here as elsewhere, the inefficiency of the ancien régime mitigated

its tyranny. The jurisdiction of the three authorities often conflicted, and the book or author that one alone would have dealt with effectively escaped the fumbling clutches of all three. This happened sometimes when one was pursuing a private quarrel with one of the others: the Jesuits would protect an author who scoffed at the lawyers if he attacked the Jansenists as well; the Parlement would interfere with the prosecution of the critic of a minister in order to administer



**A CARPET KNIGHT**

His epaulettes and military wig stamp this young blood philandering with a lady of fashion as one of the amateur soldiers who flourished under the substitute system. These figures are taken from a drawing by Watteau, 1780.

*Lille Museum*

a pinprick to the court. In practice men expressed their thoughts with great license, but there was no ordered liberty. So, for twenty-five years labored the editors of the great Encyclopedia, harassed, threatened and humiliated, never sure that their work would not be peremptorily stopped. Worse than the actuality of censorship was the possibility of it; under a regime so arbitrary and incalculable, men feared to publish many things lest they might be suppressed. Authors and publishers alike lost all intellectual integrity.

Lastly, we come to the substitute system. A characteristic feature of the ancien régime was the separation in nearly every public function of the man who had the title, the legal privileges and the emoluments from the man, obscure and ill paid, who did the actual work. Judgeships and attorney-generalships were hereditary and vendible. Young nobles who had never smelt powder lounged about the court with the title of captain and colonel, while their lieutenants and lieutenant-colonels had the privilege of serving their king in arduous campaigns for a yearly pay that their gallant, though absent, comrades might win or lose in a night's play. In the Church, similarly, bishoprics, abbacies and prebends were held by noble and absentee incumbents, while ill paid members of the lower clergy performed their duties.

In this atmosphere of falsity and pretence, domestic relationships became as corrupt as public functions. Side by side with the absentee judge and his unofficial substitute, we find the absentee husband and his substitute, the tolerated lover. The social toleration of all but open concubinage is the natural corollary of the 'mariage de convenance.' Men and women are married in defiance of their natural inclinations, for reasons of family prestige or family property. What wonder that each should seek outside the marriage bond a more congenial partner and should tolerate the other's doing likewise?

The intellectual society of the ancien régime was composed largely of the noblesse and of the higher bourgeoisie. Among the former were many who lacked either the taste or the means for the gallantries and intrigues of the court and who turned for diversion to philosophical speculation and to literary dilettantism; among the latter were many who had the wealth and leisure requisite for a public career, but who were excluded by their status from playing any considerable part. To neither noble nor bourgeois was possible a public career of the sort that existed already in Britain. A man might hold office—in which case he became a mere cog in the machine of ad-

ministration—or he might become a pamphleteer, usually anonymous and always irresponsible, or he might devote himself to literature and art, and leave public affairs alone.

The eighteenth century was the age of the salon. The influence of women was thus strong and pervasive, although women were not what we would call emancipated. They did not exercise or even demand careers in literature, business or administration, yet they had great influence on the men who did. Just because they had no independent source of power in society, their influence waned when the Revolution came. Napoleon frankly despised women. Only a few rare souls, like Condorcet, demanded equal political rights for women, either before or during the Revolution.

Philosophy did not have, in those days, the specialized meaning that it has now. It meant not merely metaphysics, logic and ethics, but rather a systematic study of all knowledge, in which mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, economics and political science could all find a part. This philosophy, moreover, was characterized by a great sense of the practical. Scientists turned themselves to the processes of industry, hitherto left to the artisan's rule of thumb; economists improved methods of cultivation and condemned the systems of taxation and land tenure; the comparative study of political institutions was undertaken not only for speculative reasons, but for the discovery of remedies for the evils of government.

The essence of this philosophy was what the nineteenth century called rationalism. It was a critical examination of the whole field of human knowledge in the light of the new concepts of natural science. All old beliefs and practices were tried remorselessly by the touchstone of this criticism, and little stood the test. This assertion of the intellect free from all restraint of a book or an institution, this claim for uncensored discussion of all subjects, is the most characteristic feature of the movement of the 'philosophes.'

VOLTAIRE: ICONOCLAST AND REFORMER

Among the 'philosophes' Voltaire takes high place. His services to the cause of revolution are recognized in this rather malicious terra-cotta statuette showing him as an old man, pen in hand, and with his mocking visage crowned with the Phrygian cap of Liberty.

*Musée Carnavalet; photo, Bulloz*

It was perhaps in the human studies that the movement brought forth its characteristic fruits. The 'philosophes' treated human nature as one with non-human nature; man is essentially a part of the natural order and subject to natural laws. Hence an inevitable tendency towards materialism, which becomes overt in Holbach and La Mettrie. Individually this attitude expresses itself in an emphasis on intelligence and a depreciation of passion noticeable in the social life and literature of the time. Taste and good

sense rather than intensity of feeling are the guides to life. Socially this attitude becomes a remorseless and fruitful criticism of all existing institutions and all social, political and economic standards. In religion, morals, politics, history and economics it produces characteristic work.

In religion the new spirit worked both constructively and destructively, its outstanding exponent in both aspects being Voltaire. Destructively, the 'philosophes' undermined the authority and teaching of the Church by emphasizing whatever in history and the recent advances of physical science appeared in conflict with tradition and miracle. While preserving, as a rule, the outward forms of deference to the established faith, they sneered covertly at its mysteries.

Constructively the 'philosophes' brought to the consideration of religious matters two things that had been sadly lacking: toleration and common sense.

In morals, the philosophic tendency showed itself as common sense and humanity. Caring little about metaphysical ethics, it concerned itself with practical morals, rejecting supernatural and authoritarian sanctions and putting in their place the system of mingled sympathy and self-interest, on a purely empirical basis, that subsequently became known as utilitarianism.

But the chief service that the new outlook rendered to mankind was to teach the lesson of humanity. The 'philosophes' had a hatred of cruelty. From the Italian Beccaria and his followers, strongly under the influence of French philosophy, sprang the beginnings of a criminal jurisprudence based not on the 'lex talionis,' but on the ideas of reforming the criminal and of protecting society with as little violence as possible. To them we owe, very largely, the abolition of thumb-screw and rack, wheel and stake, disembowelment and mutilation.

With the rejection of authority and supernatural sanctions went a reaction from the puritanism—whether Catholic or Protestant—of the previous century. Enjoyment came to be considered a legitimate end of human endeavor, and good taste rather than the precepts of an immutable Christian morality was set up as the regulator of actions. Such an attitude harmonized well with the desires of classes to whom increasing wealth brought great opportunity for luxury but little opportunity for social service.

In politics, the work of the 'philosophes' is at first sight disappointingly unrevolutionary. Particular abuses are satirized; small reforms are advocated; but no general principles of political organization are laid down, still less is it suggested that the existing fabric should be destroyed and rebuilt on new and philosophical principles. Pope's aphorism that 'whate'er is best administered is best' seems to sum up the attitude of the 'philosophes' to politics. Nevertheless, their superficially desultory and almost frivolous treatment rests upon a framework of political thought that, even if implicit, is quite systematic.

Like all men brought up on a classical education, the 'philosophes' were affected by the republican institutions of the great states of antiquity and by Aristotle's advocacy of a constitutional but not too democratic government (very like that of England). Later came the influence of the American Revolution and the constitution of the United States. Men who, like Lafayette, had actually fought side by side with the colonists for independence brought home to cultured French society the great adventure of deliberately constructing a new instrument of government on first principles.

Underlying this admiration of special models was a general theory of government which may be called the Whig theory. It is that the individual is anterior, both historically and logically, to the state, and that the latter exists as an instrument to guarantee him certain rights. These rights are twofold: those relating to security of life and limb and freedom from personal constraint; and those relating to the free exercise of gainful activity, the secure use of material property, and the maintenance of claims over other persons' activities acquired through free contract.

The 'philosophes' also advocated reforms in specific departments of government and social life: judicial organization, land tenure, taxation and finances. Rarely, however, in the writings of this period do we find any hint of revolution, of a drastic remodelling of institution, of the desirability of full democracy. Nevertheless, the germ of revolution is there.

In the domain of economics the ideas

## ATTENTION TO TECHNICAL DETAIL IN THE GREAT ENCYCLOPEDIA

Details of a small bakery are illustrated in the plate from the Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert, of which this is part—kneading and weighing dough, making up and baking loaves, as well as pans, measures and wattled stands required in the work. The picture, accompanied as it is in the Encyclopedia by detail drawings of all the implements used by bakers, serves to illustrate the minute attention paid by the philosophes to the processes employed in the mechanical arts.

*From Diderot and d'Alembert, 'L'Encyclopédie; Recueil de Planches'*

of the 'philosophes' were no less far-reaching in their consequences. Beginning with a reaction from earlier views, and a critical survey of existing institutions, they gradually developed an economic theory, in conformity with the general philosophic notions already sketched out. This was the first systematic and coherent body of economic theory and still remains the foundation of modern economics.

Against mercantilism the physiocrats contended that the true wealth of nations is the abundance of necessities and luxuries among the people, that numbers are only desirable in so far as they promote well-being, that high wages are a sign of prosperity, and that the advantage of foreign trade is in the greater quantity and variety of commodities obtained thereby. Instead of vaunting manufacture, some fled to the opposite extreme of asserting that land alone was the source of wealth and that agricultural labor was the only productive labor. Thus all artisans, traders and professional men were unproductive, in the sense that they merely transformed the produce of the soil into other goods or services and added nothing to the net product of society.

The physiocrats regarded society as a community of economic effort and economics as a social process, not as a concern of the state (mercantilism) or of the individual alone (nineteenth-century individualism). They coined the phrase 'laisser faire, laisser passer,' that later was to do so much to sterilize the social conscience; but they meant thereby not the negation of social control and the assertion of an individualistic atomism, but simply that economic welfare would be best served by letting people make goods free from arbitrary and clumsy regulations and by letting goods pass from district to district free from local tolls and prohibitions. It was a protest against the ancien régime; not a formula for a new social order.

The greatest monument of the 'philosophes' is the Encyclopedia. Conceived by Diderot and begun in 1751 under the editorship of him and of the astronomer

d'Alembert, finished after herculean labors and sisyphean disappointments in 1772, it was an epitome of its age. Its contributors numbered nearly all the 'philosophes' and most of the scientific and literary talent of the time. Its contents were intended to include the whole scope of human knowledge. A novel feature, and a sign of the new social forces at work, was the attention devoted to the useful arts. The crafts of the potter, weaver, brewer, baker, carpenter, smith and many others became the subject of scientific interest.

Diderot meant to give so accurate an account of the process of manufacture that, if all European civilizations were wiped out by a flood or an earthquake and only one set of the Encyclopedia were saved, its arts and sciences could be re-established in the New World. To this end Diderot himself travelled about to watch craftsmen at work and studied the details of manufacture. In the volumes of plates which supplemented the text of the Encyclopedia, diagrams of industrial and agricultural processes are specially prominent. This regard for the mechanic arts, hitherto despised by scholars and gentlemen, must be put beside the growing interest in natural science as a characteristic of the new age in civilization that was dawning.

But, above all, the Encyclopedia focussed the social discontent of the day. Harassed by the threefold censorship of Church, State and Law, threatened, confiscated, interdicted, betrayed by the craven fear of their own printers, the writers of the great Encyclopedia had to conceal their meaning under an easily penetrated disguise. Formal expressions of respect for old institutions, a semblance of disavowing radical opinions, a scrupulous impartiality that exposed the evils of the time more than any denunciation could have done; comparison of the institutions of the ancien régime with those of England, Geneva, Holland, ancient Rome or Greece, and even China —these were the forms under which the cultivated classes of the day absorbed the new humanism.

The Revolution was the outcome of a conflict between the social development of the country and the rigid legal forms into which that development was forced. Mainly under the direction of a wealthy and enterprising middle class, trade and enterprise were expanding in all directions, outgrowing the framework of Colbertism that had undoubtedly done much to foster it a century before. The peasants were becoming, in fact, owners of their land, while the outworn rights of feudalism hindered their full utilisation of it. Thus the legal forms did not correspond to the realities of social and economic life. Rights of classes no longer corresponded to social functions. Moreover, the system was rigid. There was no constitutional means whereby the forms could be brought into closer relation with realities. The vested rights and interests of the functionless classes stood immovably in the way of reform.

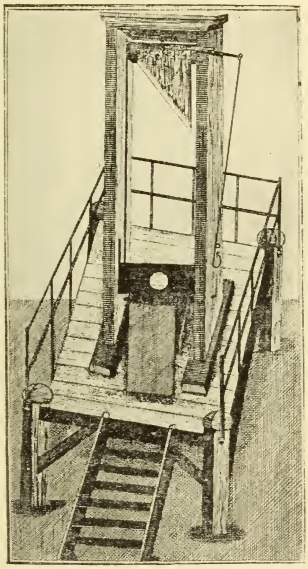
One must not, however, assume that the Revolution was caused by misery and despair. In spite of the social evils described earlier, the condition of the bulk of people, peasants as well as artisans, had been steadily improving. In spite of famine and unemployment it is doubtful whether they were worse off in 1789 than in 1759. What happened was rather a check to increasing prosperity than an actual worsening of conditions. But this is precisely what is most likely to make men ripe for revolution. Misery does not make rebels; it makes hunger-slaves. There is no one so revolutionary as the man who has caught a glimpse of better things. Even so the bulk of the French people were not rebels. They were full of loyalty to the throne; it was only slowly and under the influence of disillusionment that this loyalty wavered and crumbled.

On top of the economic distress of the nation came the economic distress of the state. The national finances were in a state of insolvency. The administrative machine had broken down. A creeping paralysis seemed to have attacked the state. Able ministers like Turgot and Necker had been driven from office by the jealousy and intriguing of the privileged classes. Pliable ministers had left confusion worse than they had found it. At length Necker was recalled and made minister of finances. He proposed new taxes on privileged and non-privileged alike. At last the king consented; then the Parlement of Paris refused to register the decrees imposing them, on the grounds that only the States-

General could impose new permanent taxation on the kingdom. Thus the calling of this ancient and nearly obsolete assembly became inevitable and the long train of the revolution was fired.

The Revolution may be said to have begun when the deputies of the third estate (the commons) to the States-General, joined by a few of the deputies of the noblesse and the clergy, declared themselves the National Assembly. The third estate, which had been nothing, now became something, and soon became everything. The National Assembly, instead of patching together the shreds of the old regime, began the task of radical reconstruction and reform. It was followed by two more elected bodies, the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, which carried on the work in the midst of famine, treachery, civil war and external war. The result of their labor is modern France.

Two tasks faced the legislators of the Revolution. One was the destruction of the ancien régime, the other was the building of the new social fabric. The first was done very thoroughly, mostly by the National Assembly. That body abolished feudal dues and class privileges, reduced the king to the level of the chief functionary of the nation, abolished the parlements and suppressed the old local administration, abolished judicial torture and cruel punishments, suppressed guilds, exclusive trades associations and privileged companies, abolished internal customs barriers and the vexatious and arbitrary tax system. The Convention completed the process by abolishing monarchy and declaring France a republic, began the preparation of a new and uniform code of civil law, and laid the foundations of a new educational system.



THE GUILLOTINE OF THE TERROR

Mechanical decapitation was advocated by Dr. Guillotin in 1789, but the instrument itself was adapted from much earlier models. It was first used in France on April 25, 1792.

*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

### Suppression of the Christian Church

FINALLY, the Christian Church was suppressed altogether. The fantastic mummery of the cults of Reason and of the Supreme Being had a brief official vogue during the Terror. Under the Directory there was an official cult: a kind of civic religion consisting of a vague theism. In practice, there was no public profession of religion in France until under the Napoleonic reaction the Catholic Church was once more established in France by the Concordat of 1801. But the damage had been done. The religious schism and persecution had distracted the national effort and weakened the democratic impulse. An enduring tradition of hatred was left, and for over a hundred years Republicanism and the Catholic Church were deadly enemies.

The breakdown of the finances had been the immediate cause of the calling of the States-General. The restoration of them was the first task of the National Assembly. A land tax was voted in 1790, a property tax in 1791. Both were to be assessed uniformly throughout the country and on all classes. However, the immediate effect of the Revolution was to make the situation worse. In vain was the tax system made simpler and more equitable, in vain was a

SUPPRESSION OF THE CHURCH AND WORSHIP OF REASON

On May 7, 1794, Robespierre secured a decree recognizing the existence of the Supreme Being, and on June 8 the Fête here commemorated by Monet was held in the grounds of the Tuileries. Robespierre delivered a harangue and set fire to figures representing Atheism, Ambition, Egoism and False Simplicity, which were ranged round the pedestal on which a statue of Reason was enthroned.

*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

stricter accountancy introduced: the taxpayer stopped paying his taxes since the old officials that had compelled him to do so no longer existed, and the new ones, being elective, lacked both the means and the will to compel him. Loans could not be floated since the credit of the nation, already exhausted, was not revived by the hint of political instability. It was resolved to sell the public domains (the former crown lands, and the land of the Church, made national property under the Civil Constitution of the Clergy).

Since immediate sale would have seriously depressed their value, the expedient was devised (1789) of issuing paper money, equal in nominal value to the value of the lands to be sold, and receivable by the Treasury at its face value in payment for the lands when and as they were sold. It was thought that, since the paper represented assets of a perfectly fixed and tangible kind, depreciation could not occur. Two points, however, had been overlooked. One was that the value of money varies inversely as its quantity, whatever it may be based upon, and the other was that unless convertibility on demand is immediate and certain its chief object—the establishment of public confidence—is not attained. The value to a baker in Paris of a tillful of assignats was simply what he could buy with them in Paris; that they would be of full value at a sale of public lands in the department of the Isère or of the Eastern Pyrenees was of little interest to him.

Assignats were issued by the government and speedily passed into circulation. Soon the increased quantity of means of payment in circulation caused prices (already high) to rise. Gold began to circulate at a premium, the first sign of inflation. After 1791 the pretence of basing the issue on the value of public lands was abandoned and the governments of the Legislative and the Convention printed notes simply in order to

finance their operations. Like so many unstable and needy governments since then, they found inflation the easiest form of taxation.

In January, 1793, the assignats were worth only half their nominal value in gold, and by March, 1796, they had fallen to one three-hundredth of their face value. The fall was not steady; the value of assignats rose and fell in sympathy with military events and the prospects of the revolutionary governments. Commodity prices tended to move proportionately to the premium in gold. Business was reduced to gambling; many manufactures, already suffering from depression, closed down. Speculation was rife. Creditors were ruined; debtors had their debts almost extinguished, but owing to the failure of markets they were benefited little. The only people who derived any solid gain from the confusion were the farmers and the war contractors. The situation that existed in central Europe after 1918 was only a reproduction of what existed in France during the stormy days of the Revolution. Even the same jokes were made. In 1793 there was the man who went to market with his assignats in a basket and returned with his bread in his waistcoat pocket.

The Directory abandoned the effort to force paper money on the country and to control prices. A free market for specie was allowed and coin emerged from its hoarding places and circulated; assignats passed current at their depreciated value. The Convention, in reforming the weights and measures, had introduced a new monetary unit, the franc, (very nearly the same as the old livre), but during the paper-money orgy it remained a purely theoretical unit. In 1796, however, gold and silver were once more coined. Assignats were redeemed at a fraction of their face value, and in 1797 they were repudiated. Those who had lost through the depreciation received no compensation, but the country had once more a stable currency.

The Republic had taken over the old public debt of France and had added to it by desperate borrowings. In September, 1797, the Directory took the drastic step of repudiating two-thirds of it. All the creditors of the nation had been inscribed in a big book; now they were credited with only one-third of the sum due to them. Other measures were taken, more taxes were imposed and an administration built up to collect them and to audit the accounts, so that at last the finances were put in order. The present fiscal system of France dates from the Directory. By this time victory in the field had brought relief to the Treasury in the form of contributions from conquered provinces and had, moreover, improved the credit of France in the international loan market.

The financial débâcle and the subsequent restoration had each an important effect. During the depreciation of the currency the peasants had been buying up their land wholesale, paying off mortgages and redeeming what the National Assembly had left in the way of feudal dues. When sound money was restored their new position of independence was consolidated and stabilized. Moreover, in spite of the bankruptcy of the two-thirds, there was now a large body of smallholders in the national debt. So France

**REVOLUTION PAPER MONEY**

When first issued, only assignats for 1,000 and for 500 livres were put into circulation; but in 1791 the National Assembly sanctioned the issue of assignats of much smaller denomination. Above is an assignat for fifty sols (sous).

*British Museum*

assumed the character, which it retains to-day, of a land where the interests of the peasant and the small 'rentier' are dominant in public life.

A very difficult task remains: to give an idea of the tone of public feeling at the different stages of the Revolution.

The first stage, up to the end of the Legislative, began with optimistic liberalism. There was a spontaneous welling up of enlightened opinion; all classes showed enthusiasm for the cause of reform. It was the epoch of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The deputies of the nobility took the initiative on the night of August 4, 1789, when the National Assembly voted the wholesale abolition of feudal rights and privileges in an orgy of public spirit and benevolence. For a time it seemed that good men of all classes were united in loyalty to the throne and in devotion to constitutional reform.

Vested interests, however, were still strong and intrigued powerfully at court in favor of the old order. Hence frequent clashes occurred between the king and his ministers, in the course of which the devotion to the cause of monarchy gradually waned. In the National As-

## ABOLITION OF FEUDAL RIGHTS BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

August 4, 1789, is a notable date in the history of the French Revolution, for on that night the National Assembly in session at Versailles liberated land and labor by suppressing personal servitude, abolished all the privileges hitherto enjoyed by the nobility and clergy, and proclaimed equality amongst all Frenchmen—decrees presently ratified by the king with a very ill grace. The scene at this memorable session is the subject of this picture by Charles Monet, engraved by Helman.

*Bibliothèque Nationale*

EMANCIPATION OF THE PRESS UNDER THE REVOLUTION

Article eleven of the Constitution of 1791 declared the free interchange of thoughts and opinions to be one of the most precious rights of man and gave every citizen liberty to say, write and print what he pleased, subject only to legal responsibility for specified abuses. A host of newspapers immediately appeared, some of them obtaining a large circulation. This amusing colored engraving shows the enthusiasm with which people rushed to shout the praises of their favorite journal.

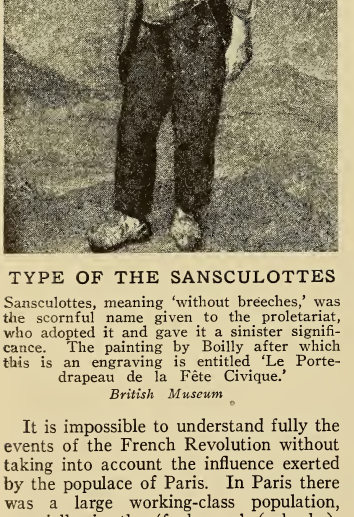
*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

sembly the aristocracy and the upper middle class predominated; its tone was Whiggish. The Legislative Assembly was more middle class and its tone was more liberal, verging on radicalism. During its continuance the difficulties multiplied; party conflict became more acute; the emigration of the nobility began; the conflict with the Church gave a handle to the reactionaries; at the same time the lower classes demanded a greater share in the government and also immediate remedies for their economic sufferings.

Among the first decrees of the National Assembly were those abolishing the censorship and permitting full association. Immediately a flood of newspapers and periodicals appeared, advocating all kinds of views, both revolutionary and reactionary, and indulging at times in scandalous personalities. Journalism, thus released from bondage, united the irresponsibility of the old times with the impunity of the new, and, until the muzzling of the press under Napoleon, exerted a great influence on the passage of events.

A still greater influence was exercised

by the clubs and societies that sprang up at the same time, at first for discussion of political and social principles, but developing later into political organizations. Most famous of the clubs was that of the Jacobins, the party of the ultra democrats, among whose leaders were Danton and Robespierre, and which was in power during the Terror.



TYPE OF THE SANSCULOTTES

Sansculottes, meaning 'without breeches,' was the scornful name given to the proletariat, who adopted it and gave it a sinister significance. The painting by Boilly after which this is an engraving is entitled 'Le Porte-drapeau de la Fête Civique.'

*British Museum*

It is impossible to understand fully the events of the French Revolution without taking into account the influence exerted by the populace of Paris. In Paris there was a large working-class population, especially in the 'faubourgs' (suburbs), employed in a number of small industries that were attracted to the capital; transport also gave employment to a considerable number of persons as porters, carters, etc. Although industries existed elsewhere in the country, nowhere else was there a working-class population so concentrated and so capable of exerting a definite influence, as a class, on affairs. This class—not only wage-earners but small masters as well—tended to be extremely democratic. They were called, from their ragged trousers, 'sansculottes.' This term, originally given in derision, they adopted themselves and gloried in.

It must not be thought, however, that the influence of the working class was socialistic. Ultra-democratic it was, and, as shown by its support of the law of the maximum and of the decree against profiteers, not particularly tender to property rights; but their demands were rather political than economic—the wage-earner was too near the small master, both socially and historically, for him to organize as a wage-earner or to adopt a collectivist view of property.

Under the stress of war, foreign and internecine, the ruthlessness and lack of constitutional scruple of the Jacobins proved more effective than the high constitutional and republican ideals of the Girondins. The pacific internationalism and cosmopolitanism of the first period gave way to a militant internationalism that sought to force the principles of the Revolution on the peoples of the world at the point of the bayonet: 'War on tyrants, peace to peoples.'

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was the slogan of 1793. These words, which to-day are inscribed on every public building in France, require some explanation. To some they seem mere hypocritical rhetoric, to others—especially when written over a prison or a barracks—a piece of savage irony, to others the epitaph of a noble hope. The fact is that they embody a definite political theory and one that has been largely realized in practice. Liberty means the free exercise of certain definite but limited rights: rights of holding property, of trade, of change of domicile, of voting and of eligibility to public office—all subject to certain conditions, but based generally on the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Equality means that the exercise of these rights is the same, the conditions being fulfilled, for all Frenchmen; it does not mean the equality of wealth, but it does mean the equality of status and of opportunity, so far as this is compatible with the institutions of private property and of capitalistic enterprise; it means the abolition of privileged classes. Fra-

ternity is not a mere sentimental phrase; it is an expression of the national unity, the abolition of local privileges, of internal tariff boundaries, of diverse codes of law.

It is of this time that most people think when the Revolution is mentioned. It is the heroic period of the Revolution, in which events seem more sublime and the actors in them of greater stature than in common times. This is largely an illusion—in the midst of the Terror men and women went about their ordinary affairs, adjusting themselves to hunger and danger as they do every day in face of unemployment or of a colliery explosion. Men worked at their trade, when work was to be had. Women kept house and cooked, grumbling at the shortage of food and at standing in queues for bad bread and offal. Men and women married, children were born and brought up. But against the background of common events there stood out a number of great characters (see the following chapter) and heroic deeds such as we seek in vain during the days of self-satisfied progress and reform that went before, or during the period of greed and baseness that came after this period.

Whatever the smaller men may have done, few of the leaders made any personal profit out of it; the difficulties and dangers of office were too great for a man to seek them for the sake of feathering his nest.

And the bulk of the people showed the same devotion. The self-constituted executioners who carried out the September massacres did not rob the prisoners they killed. The army of Sambre - et - Meuse, composed two-thirds of new volunteers, bare-foot and in rags in the winter of 1792-3, hungry and without proper stores, was encamped in the midst of the fairest and richest cities of the Belgic Netherlands without looting or molesting the

SESSION OF A REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE UNDER THE TERROR

In July, 1793 the first Committee of Public Safety assumed central authority with dictatorial powers. Its organization included the Committee of General Security and the arbitrary Revolutionary Tribunal, and in the departments its orders were executed by representatives 'on mission' and by revolutionary committees under local Jacobins. This engraving after the younger Fragonard shows one of these committees in session, about to interrogate a citizen whose loyalty to the Revolution is suspect.

civil population. Fanaticism and cruelty there were, but even the cruelty of the Terror was less than that of the ancien régime. The drownings at Nantes and the shootings at Lyons were quicker and less agonizing than breaking on the wheel. Nowhere was torture used for the examination of suspects, although the king's government had given it up only thirteen years before.

As soon, however, as the main work of the Revolution was accomplished and made secure the reaction set in. The

**DANDYISM IN DIRECTORY DAYS**

Under the more tolerant regime of the Directory, young men of aristocratic tendencies blossomed forth into an eccentricity of foppish attire. They became known as the Incroyables and their feminine counterparts as the Merveilleuses.

*From a drawing by Carl Vernet; Musée Carnavalet*

moderate republicans, representative of the wealthier middle classes and the newly enriched (these formed the upper classes, since the virtual extinction of the noblesse), took the helm. Men were republican still, but distrusted the democracy, especially the sansculottes of Paris.

From the end of the Terror the tone of public life changed. The men of the Revolution had wiped each other out; the Revolution had devoured her children. There followed a generation of lesser men who had known how to save their skins while the Titans battled.

Republican simplicity of dress and manners gave way to every kind of extravagance and ostentation. Once more people dared to ride in their carriages and give entertainments in style. Never were theatres more popular or cafés more frequented. Fashions of dress, for both sexes, were exaggerated and fantastic. The admiration of classical models brought the simple flowing dress for women that is known as 'Directoire' style; as if to emphasise their break with the traditions of the old system they abandoned stays and petticoats and appeared in clinging, sheath-like garments, that vied with one another in revealing their wearers' persons, with low-cut bosoms and infinitesimal sleeves. It was a favorite amusement to weigh a woman's clothes—shoes and all could be expressed in ounces. A really fashionable woman wore a single semi-transparent garment with flesh-colored drawers beneath it. This was the time at which it was said that the rule of the 'sans-chemises' had replaced that of the 'sans-culottes.' For women, in spite of their lack of political rights, played a great part in politics. Nearly all the politicians of the time were greatly influenced by their wives or mistresses. Divorce, which had been permitted by the National Assembly, now became extremely easy; it makes one almost dizzy to try to follow the changes of partners among the prominent people of the period. If the distinction between wife and mistress became practically obliterated among the plutocracy, so did that between the girl of assured social position and the 'fille-de-joie.' Theatres and restaurants provided discreet retiring rooms of which both men and women of the new fashionable world availed themselves with equal shamelessness. There was a general relaxation of morals—or perhaps it would be more correct to say that people became for a time unashamed of their actions and did openly what they had done before and were to do again under a cloak of conventional correctitude.

In public life corruption ceased to hide its head. Officials of all kinds took bribes openly. No government of France has been more corrupt than that of the Di-

rectory. Speculators, contractors and members of the government alike flaunted their newly-acquired wealth in the theatre, at the gambling table or on the backs of their wives and mistresses.

Equally corrupt was the change in public opinion on international affairs. After the political reaction a blatant imperialism became dominant; victories were welcomed at home not because of the liberation of peoples from the yoke of tyrants, but because of the relief to taxation afforded by military requisitions.

The Consulate and the Empire, although they completed the destruction of democracy, did restore order into the various departments of public life. The administration was purified and made more efficient; taxes were collected with regularity; economic life, in spite of the continual state of war, became steadier and healthier; manufactures developed, and with a stable currency trade flowed in regular channels. Military glory and the prospects of lucrative war contracts reconciled the upper classes to the total loss of political rights. The external seemliness of family life was better preserved, especially after the Concordat with the Catholic Church; facilities for divorce were lessened and women were put into the subordinate place that is theirs in a military despotism. Under an efficient police the theatres and places of public resort in Paris became more orderly and decent.

The social and economic work of the Revolution survived the Restoration—in particular the suppression of the inequality of the orders and the new distribution of property consequent on the sale of the national domain. Under Louis XVIII 'all Frenchmen are equal before the law.' The price at which the country, tired after years of toil and tumult, accepted the return of the Bourbons was that the acquisitions of the peasants and the middle class should be left untouched.

The France that emerged from the Revolution was a France in which the bourgeoisie was the predominant class. There was a new upper class of wealthy men: bankers, merchants, contractors and manufacturers, forming the haute bourgeoisie; and a large middle class, the bourgeoisie proper, composed of business and professional men, all owning a more or less considerable amount of property in land or in the funds. These two classes have formed the backbone of modern France; they have produced the writers, artists and scientists; from them have been drawn practically all deputies and government officials; they have for over

FANTASTIC SIMPLICITY OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The influence of classical models is revealed in the fashions in France towards the end of the eighteenth century. The portrait of Lucien Bonaparte's first wife, painted by Jean Antoine Gros, about 1800, gives an example of the extreme produced by the classical cult when women reduced their garments to a minimum.

*The Louvre*

a century exerted the chief influence in the intellectual, economic and political life of the country.

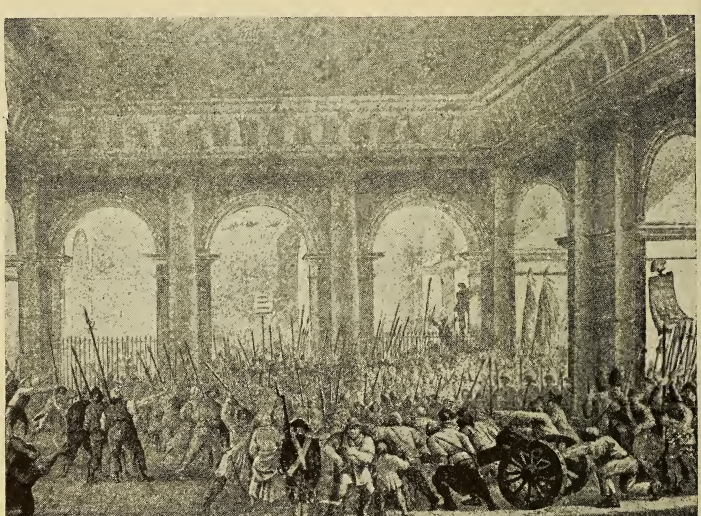
Below them was a peasantry, laborious and parsimonious, having little education, but for the most part owning their own land. Although they formed the numerical majority of the country they were intellectually and politically inarticulate. Then there was the urban working class,

a small proportion of the people in 1814, but growing rapidly with the growth of industry.

This new social structure has given to post-revolutionary France a peculiar stability, in spite of repeated political revolutions. In spite of the distinct cleavage between the working class and the rest, there is more of the sentiment of social equality, as evinced by the people's manners and modes of intercourse, in modern France than in any other large European country.

The French Revolution has meant less to the English and Scottish people than to any people in Europe. The chief reason for this is that they had already accomplished the essential task that the French Revolution achieved for France and that still lay before other countries. Hence neither the ideals nor the achievements of the Revolution, which for France were of such supreme importance and which for other countries acted as ringing calls to action, had any significance to the most part of Englishmen and Scotsmen.

North America shared the indifference of Great Britain. British America was working out her own destiny on lines similar to those of the mother country. The United States had solved her problems, and although the influence of the 'philosophes' had been strong in 1776, yet by 1789 the new government was so well established that men thought they had nothing more to learn. Like Great Britain, the United States of America followed an independent course of political development during the nineteenth century.



**INVASION OF THE TUILERIES BY INSURRECTIONARY PARISIANS**

On June 20, 1792, an armed Parisian mob marched to the Tuileries with loud cries of "Vive la nation! Vive les sansculottes!" The crowd surged into the Assembly Hall and invaded the royal apartments. Although in great peril, the king and queen faced the clamoring multitude with courage and dignity, and refused to make any promises. The insurgents were finally dispersed by the intervention of Pétion, the popular mayor of Paris. This drawing is by F. L. Prieur.

*The Louvre*

# THE MEN WHO MADE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES OF THE MIGHTY FIGURES THAT TOWER OUT OF THE WELTER OF FRANCE'S DARKEST DAYS

By EMILE BOURGEOIS, D.-ès-L.

*Professor of History in the University of Paris; Member of the French Institute; Author of History of Modern France, etc.*

In his history of the French Revolution, Jules Michelet at one point expresses regret that most of its previous historians—Thiers, Mignet, Lamartine, Louis Blanc, Buchez—had reduced it to a study of dominant and celebrated personalities, instead of representing it as the expression of popular demands and the development and the product of the collective forces of the nation.

Nevertheless, the parts played by the principal actors in the Revolution throw light on its history. They indicate the main currents; they have set their stamp upon its essential stages.

At the outset, Sieyès, Lafayette and Mirabeau were the thought, the action and the eloquence of the French nation, which, having become conscious of its rights and of its self-interest in self-government, entered upon the struggle against the arbitrary power of the crown, which was exercised in the interests of the privileged classes. All three, moreover, were men of action, with different methods and different types of genius.

The abbé Sieyès, who was prevented by bad health from joining the army and making a career for himself in the artillery as Bonaparte did, was forty when Louis XVI decided to hold an assembly of the States-General at Versailles. At the seminaries Sieyès had neglected theological studies in order to make a philosophic and political study of social communities and governments in theory and in practice. Early administrative employment in Brittany and at Chartres for the Church, with which the nobility shared the sinecures, bishoprics and rich abbeys, opened his eyes to all the abuses which he denounced on the eve of the summoning of the States-General, in his Essay on Privileges (1788).

When Louis XVI was compelled to grant that people the right to make itself heard in the minutes of its bailiwicks and parishes, all who were not of the privileged classes made known their desire to see the nation constitutionally established, and their right to be the nation. At this point, the unquestionable value of Sieyès lay in his having given to the expression of this desire, to the triumph of this right, a famous formula, a compelling motto: 'What is the third estate? Everything. What has it been? Nothing.' His essay, which appeared in 1789 under that title, was an announcement of the work that was to be done in the States-General from May 5, 1789; in an assembly that was not to be, as the king supposed, a mere conference of his subjects to deal with the deficit, but an extraordinary assembly, an assembly of the nation.

From announcement Sieyès proceeded to action; a deputy of Paris to the third estate, although an abbé, it was he who called upon the nobility and the clergy, on May 13, to join with the third estate and deliberate as one body. Again, it was he who, after a month of fruitless waiting, induced the deputies of the popular majority, during the week from June 10 to 17, to proceed to further measures, persuading them that they represented nearly the whole nation, that their assembly ought to call itself national, and that this title gave it the right to act and speak as sovereign, even when dealing with the king. While half the clergy were lending a favorable ear to this appeal, however, Louis XVI found a pretext to close the Assembly Hall, and it was Sieyès who encouraged resistance and proposed that the Assembly should repair to Paris.

INFLUENTIAL REVOLUTIONARY THEORIST

Politics interested the abbé Sieyès (1748-1836) more than theology, and his pamphlet on the third estate attracted wide attention. In 1789 he produced his plan for a new constitution. This engraving shows him 'en grand costume' as a member of the Directory, but he did not excel as a practical politician.

*Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, Giraudon*

In the Hall of the Tennis Courts on June 20, he was one of the first to take the famous oath drawn up by Mounier and himself, declaring the unanimous intention of the deputies not to dissolve until they had given to the nation the constitution, and the essential, fundamental laws of the system which he had succeeded in substituting for that of despotism and privilege. His work had overcome the resistance of the monarchy and of the court, when, after July 14, the Parisians, his electors, became masters of the Bastille; and especially when, from August 4 onward, the National Assembly voted the abolition of all servitudes and all inequalities between citizens, provinces and towns of France.

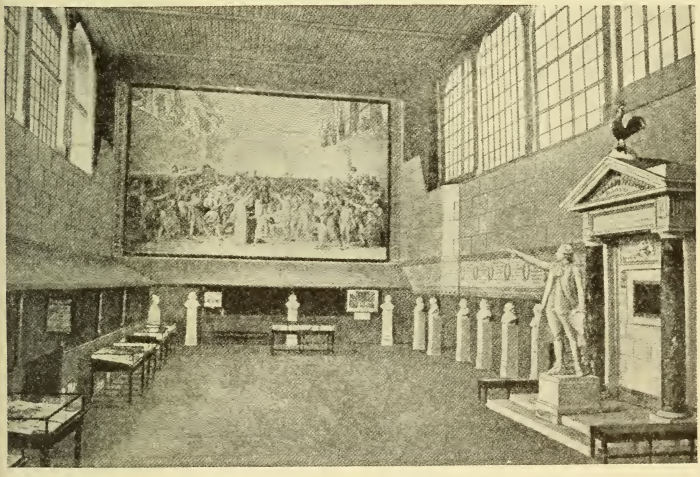
But he was outstripped by the advance of the Revolution, and disquieted by the popular demands and by the violence of the press. His purely logical eloquence, his haughty bearing, his annoyance at his failure to make reason triumph over passion, gradually lost him his influence over the public and the Assembly. He criticised the new regime, as he had combated the old. Condemning himself to dismissal from 1791 to 1792, he was, however, recalled to the Convention by the electors of three departments; but there was nothing for him to do there until the downfall of Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor (July 28). The period during the Terror, when he merely 'existed,' paralysed by the violence and crimes that he witnessed, was like a three years' sleep.

But France remembered him. Under the Directory nineteen departments chose him as deputy to the Assembly of the Five Hundred, which, had it not been for his refusal, would have elected him president. 'They run after me,' he remarked, with the scorn of a misanthrope for all the welter of ambitions and intrigues in that period of civil discord, laborious reconstruction and unbridled indulgence. Sieyès turned his back upon them until 1799, going on a mission to Berlin to develop vast designs for the greatness of France.

Then he 'sought a sword'—Joubert, Augereau and finally Bonaparte—to establish by force, without saying so, a presidentship, a Consulate of which he should be the head, with a general as the arm, victorious at home as abroad. His plan fell to pieces before the master whom he gave himself and France. He definitely retired from affairs, a gilded retirement as senator and Count of the Empire, and then an obscure retirement under the Bourbons, until he died, in 1836, at the age of eighty-seven.

Two years earlier died his slightly younger contemporary, General Lafayette, at the full height of the popularity that he enjoyed throughout the whole of Europe, and outside Europe. Noble and rich, allied by marriage at the age of sixteen to the great family of the de Noailles, he had turned his back on the fortune that smiled on him to go (when nineteen years old) to place his sword at the service of the American rebels. He was, before all else, a soldier, dreaming, like all men of his class, of glorious adventures; but his generous nature delighted in the service of liberty against oppression. On two occasions, in 1779 and again in 1782, when he came back from America, his return was that of a hero, acclaimed at court, in Paris, in the streets and at the theater.

Henceforward Lafayette was canonized in America and Europe as the hero of liberty triumphant; pledged to a career of glory to which his life thereafter was entirely devoted, with the object of bringing to the peoples the benefits which, under the command of Washington, he was able to procure for the Americans. Prevented at first, by his mandate as deputy of the nobility of Auvergne, from associating himself fully with the third estate in the voting, he was able, after the first defeat of the privileged orders on June 27, to take his place in the first rank of the founders of the new regime.



WHERE THE THIRD ESTATE SWORE TO ESTABLISH A CONSTITUTION

Here, in the Hall of the Tennis Court at Versailles, the members of the third estate assembled under the presidency of Bailly and took the oath of June 20, 1789. This oath, drawn up by Sieyès and Mounier, declared that the deputies would not separate until they had given France a constitution. At the far end of the hall is the picture by Jacques Louis David which represents the taking of the famous oath. The court, which was built in 1686, is now a museum.

The nation idolized him. He brought to the Old World from America the inspiration of democracy. On July 11 he proposed to the Assembly a European 'declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen.' On July 13 he became its vice-president. The prospect of being a Washington, for the benefit not of France alone but of the whole of Europe, took shape in his imagination.

HEROIC SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

The marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834), popular hero of the American War, was appointed commander of the Parisian National Guard in 1789, when this portrait was engraved. Although a believer in reformist doctrines, his humanity prevented him from supporting the Jacobin policy against Louis XVI in 1792, and the Assembly declared him a traitor.

*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

The resistance of the court at this time to reform, which was shown by the dismissal of Necker, gave Lafayette a still more important part to play, in which he achieved greater fame. To break down this resistance, to guarantee that reforms would be carried out and to protect the Assembly, the people of Paris had taken up arms, had constituted itself a Commune and, on July 14, had seized the Bastille with the help of the French Guards. The popular coup d'état inevitably decided the issue between revolutionary and monarchical force, between the nation and the king. In opposition to the King's Guards, to the household soldiery, Paris organized, on July 15, a guard for the nation and its representatives. On July 16, Lafayette was given command of the Parisian National Guard amidst acclamation. Distrustful both of the court and of the ministers, the people placed themselves in his hands with all confidence. In Paris during three months Lafayette was greater than the king.

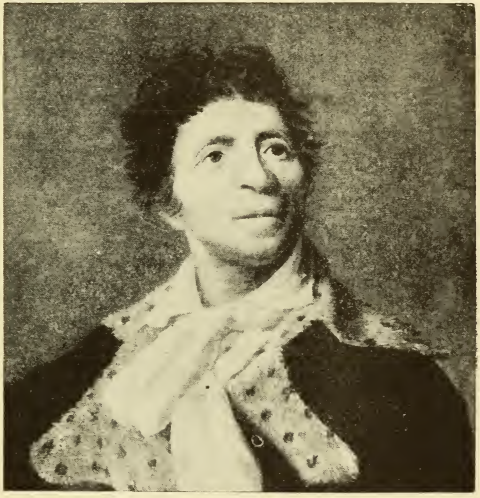
He was not the man to be a ringleader of the mob. After July 23 he wished to resign because of its excesses. But it was mortifying to him to abandon his ideals which, on resuming his duties, he formulated on July 31, the occasion being the creation of a tricolored cockade, 'that will go round the world, a civic and military institution that will triumph over the tactics of Europe, and will reduce arbitrary governments to choosing between being beaten if they do not copy it and overthrown if they dare to do so.'

On October 5-6, 1789, Lafayette was unable to prevent the populace of Paris from rushing upon the château of Versailles. All that he could do was to save the king and queen, who were brought back to the Tuileries by the crowd, and he was hereafter shorn of the authority that he considered necessary for the maintenance of order and for the success of the reforms. Thus it was to no purpose that he offered his assistance to Marie Antoinette, and considered making an arrangement with Mirabeau to effect a reconciliation with the Assembly and the nation. The court rebuffed him;

Mirabeau frightened him. The Assembly suspended him, by the decree of November 7, from the office in which, with Mirabeau, he might have saved the Commonwealth.

His influence was to endure for scarcely a year—until the fête at the Champ de Mars on July 14, 1790, the fête of the federation of the National Guards of France, whose major-general he was. At this celebration he appeared, veritably deified as the protector of the law, the king and the nation, 'a man without a peer,' wrote Mirabeau, 'not only in Paris, but in the provinces, in the whole of France.' But the term of his popularity was drawing near. The flight of the king to Varennes, in which he was a responsible agent, and the massacre at the Champ de Mars on July 17 of citizens who were protesting against the refusal of the Assembly to proclaim the deposition of the king, completely lost the general the affection of the Parisians.

He withdrew to Auvergne until on December 14, 1791, Narbonne, minister for war, forced him upon Louis XVI as the commander of one of the armies of the frontier at Metz. Then, when war had been declared against Austria, whose Belgian subjects he tried in vain to incite to insurrection, the Parisian press and clubs, Marat, Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, in turn declared war against him—war without quarter. Popular with his army, but totally unable, in spite of all his efforts, to give it either the necessary equipment or discipline, Lafayette accepted the challenge of 'the factionists,' as he called them, who belonged to the sect of the clubs and the Jacobins. He came to Paris in the month of June to combat them in the Assembly; and was once again successful, just at the time when the Commune of Paris was preparing the victorious insurrection of August 10 against the monarchy. On hearing of this, anybody but Lafayette would have marched on Paris without delay. The constitution, however, forbade him to use his troops if they were not legally required. He refused to break the law, although it was broken by his enemies, who deprived him of his command and issued a decree of accusation against him. On August 19, 1792, he crossed the frontier. He became the prisoner of the allies, who dragged him from prison to prison in Germany, and finally kept him at Olmütz until 1797. When his wife, who had been arrested after his flight and destined throughout the Terror for the scaffold, was saved by the Thermidorian reaction, she joined him there, to share his exile bravely. After having been the hero of liberty, Lafayette became its martyr.



A BLOODTHIRSTY REVOLUTIONIST

Constant persecutions was the lot of Jean Paul Marat (1743-93), whose denunciations of the government appeared in his paper, 'L'Ami du Peuple,' first published in 1789. Attached to no party, he suspected all in authority and was fiercely insistent on the death penalty. Boze painted this portrait.

*Musée Carnavalet, Paris; photo, Bulloz*

In exile, though expelled from the republic, he applauded the success of the republican arms. He admired Bonaparte as the soldier of the Revolution, which was victorious with him in the struggle against the monarchies of the ancien régime. But, in order not to be a 'renegade,' he would have nothing to do with

**FLAG OF A POPULAR CLUB**

The Club of the Cordeliers, founded in Paris in 1790, exercised great influence with the mob. The chief aim of its members, among whom were Danton and Camille Desmoulins, was the establishment of a republic.

Napoleon. 'The whole world is reformed,' wrote Napoleon in 1812. 'Lafayette alone is not. He has not yielded an inch. He is ready to begin all over again.'

And he did indeed begin all over again, fighting not against Napoleon but against the Bourbons, and especially, after 1815, against the reactionary policies of the absolute monarchies, which he believed they abetted and profited by. It was as much on behalf of the oppressed nations of Europe as on behalf of his own country, menaced by the restoration of the ancien régime, that he pleaded in the Chambers of Louis XVIII; and it was their cause that he served to the extent of conspiring with the republicans and the carbonari. The measures employed by Villèle against the liberal opposition, however, estranged him from the Chambers. He took advantage of the occasion to go to America in order to revisit his friends, on the urgent invitation of President Monroe, who had just compelled the European powers to recognize the right of the South American republics to their freedom.

Lafayette's steadfast faith in the emancipation of peoples was renewed and reinvigorated by the enthusiastic welcome that he received, accompanied by a magnificent gift. President Quincey Adams, bidding him farewell on his departure on September 7, 1829, said to him: 'If in days to come a Frenchman is asked to illustrate the character of his nation by indicating that of an individual of the era in which we are living, he will pronounce the name of Lafayette.'

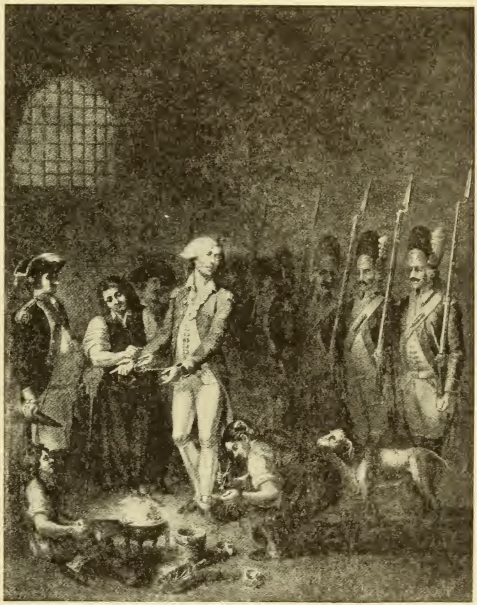
On his return, while he was passing across France, which was bitterly opposed to the arbitrary rule of Charles X and his ministers, Lafayette, now seventy years old, did not hesitate to preach this ideal again. Acclaimed in all the towns as 'the hero of Both Worlds,' he completely regained his former popularity. During the eventful days of July, 1830, he found himself, as he had been forty years before, invested with what was virtually a moral and political dictatorship, although there was no official warrant for the existence of any such thing. Memories of the Terror, which still haunted the minds of the French, made him averse from re-establishing the Republic, of which he would certainly have been president. He founded a new monarchy by embracing Louis Philippe on the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville. But he forthwith turned his back on it as soon as he perceived that the new king refused to expedite 'the consequences of the Revolution' in Belgium, in Italy and in Poland. He resigned the command of the National Guards, to remain a 'national guard of Warsaw,' a citizen of the United States and deputy of Auvergne until the day of his death. At the age of seventy-seven he died peacefully in the arms of his son.

It is curious that the most distinguished of the men who declared war on privilege and the privileged orders in 1789 should have belonged to the nobility or the

clergy—the abbé Sieyès, the marquis de Lafayette and the comte de Mirabeau. Of these three men, the one who played the shortest but the most brilliant part was, to quote Goethe's words, 'that miracle Mirabeau'—he took the lead in the third estate to ensure its victory, and was one of the greatest orators in the whole world.

When the comte de Mirabeau appeared in the Chamber of the Estates on May 5, 1789, a representative of the third estate whom the nobility of Provence, his native province, had refused to admit, he had been well known for more than ten years, but more because of the scandals of his youth, his debts, his licentious love affairs, his duels and his law suits, his imprisonments and his squabbles with his family than because of his success as a writer and pamphleteer.

Scion of an old Provençal noble family with a brilliant military record, Mirabeau, in order to gratify his passions or provide for his needs, had lowered himself to the position of those literary and political adventurers who were employed in those days by governments and great men but who were despised by the general public, even while it licked its lips over the wit and the scandals retailed in their pamphlets. Mirabeau was not solely to blame; heredity, example and education were partly responsible. Passion was in his blood, driving him to action and self-gratification, and an insatiable appetite for rebellion, pleasures, fortune and glory. He was a Hercules of a man, with an enormous head and a broad, bloated face, scarred and pitted by accidents and small-pox, and a heavy and powerful frame. His father, at one time an officer, perhaps saw a repetition of his own youth in the instincts of his son, and had a strange method of saving him from vexatious experiences—imprisoning him, first in a house of correction, then at the Château d'If, in the fortress of Joux and, for three years, at Vincennes. He had put fetters on his son early, by making him marry; but the younger Mirabeau soon made his escape. Mirabeau junior considered everything justifiable that enabled him to live, and sometimes to live extravagantly when he had not the necessary money, yet he was strong in one respect: he had the



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE IN PRISON

After his failure to stem the violence of the Jacobins in 1792, Lafayette rode into the neutral territory of Liége. He was there seized and imprisoned by the Austrians. This contemporary engraving shows him with his captors riveting his shackles upon him. In 1797 he was released by Bonaparte.

*British Museum*

power that is the result of hard work and genius.

In his prisons, on his compulsory travels in Holland, in Switzerland, in England, or in Prussia with Frederick II, Mirabeau utilized every means of self-education. He read the whole literature of his day—a literature in which criticism, science, schemes of social and political reform were treated with feverish vehemence. He questioned men, compared and studied governments and constitutions with rare discrimination and with an all-comprehending eye on the present condition and the future of France and Europe.

Already a great speaker, he had the force which persuades, the power of the word, impetuosity and irony. When he so desired he could be graceful and emotional in a manner that bewitched and captivated. 'For he was the most fascinating man in the world, the most capable of making others think, believe and say what he wanted,' Major Mauvillon said of him; and this, too, was the opinion of all the men and women who were attached to him; he was the most terrible, too, crushing his opponents with menace, lashing them with apostrophe, to reduce them to silence. And besides all this, he was always completely self-possessed, master of himself, knowing where he was going and where he wished to lead the assemblies and crowds that he addressed.

Like Sieyès Mirabeau took for his motto: 'War against privilege and the privileged orders,' sustained by the monarch's arbitrary power, abuses of which Mirabeau had had personal experience, in the form of lettres de cachet, injustice and imprisonment. On the other hand, he did not intend that the destruction of privilege should involve that of the royal authority—compromised, indeed, but necessary at the moment of a great political and social transformation. Even before the Revolution he foresaw the excesses of democracy, the disastrous enthusiasms of assemblies and mobs, while he was denouncing the conspiracies of the aristocrats and the intrigues of the court.

During the early months of the Revolution, from June to October, 1789, he opposed with great force and eloquence the privileged classes and the court. Mirabeau's name and performance are inseparably associated with the great occasions on which the resistance of the aristocracy was broken: at the Tennis Courts on June 20; on June 23, in the Assembly that refused to dissolve itself at the command of the king, whose messenger, Monsieur de Dreux-Brézé, received the celebrated reply of the tribune of the people, 'Go and tell the king that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will not be driven out except by bayonets.' And in the Assembly, on July 15, in face of those very bayonets, he uttered his eloquent menace, which on the day after the taking of the Bastille rang out like an indignant appeal: 'Tell the king that the foreign hordes by which we are surrounded were visited yesterday by princes and princesses, by favorites of both sexes, and received their exhortations and their presents. Tell him that all night long these foreign satellites, gorged with gold and wine, sang blasphemous songs prophesying the enslavement of France and the destruction of the National Assembly: thus was spent the day before S. Bartholomew's Eve.'

One would have to be in a position to follow the entire proceedings of the Constituent Assembly in order to appreciate all the wise advice that Mirabeau gave, the practical and carefully elaborated plans he submitted, and all the eloquence he exerted in committees and at the tribune, to bring about the political, social and financial re-establishment of the new France. He had long since learnt to reinforce his talent with facts, and to secure and retain the necessary co-operation of others. He became the head of an intelligence department concerned with matters of every conceivable kind involved in the complex task of regeneration. That word 'regeneration' was on everybody's lips, even the king's. Thus it was that Mirabeau, being always in the center of the stage, was able to cope with the crushing burden of work that circumstances and his own passionate zeal for the public welfare imposed upon him.

Over against the royal ministry that oscillated like the will of the king himself between popular clamor and court intrigues, Mirabeau organized and by sheer personaiity secured acceptance for what was really a ministry, although it

had neither legal authority nor the title of one. 'He is no longer a tribune,' Camille Desmoulins remarked; 'he is a consul.'

The misfortune was that Louis XVI and those who surrounded him could not win the co-operation of this force, or only thought of doing so when it was too late, and even then half-heartedly. 'The day the king's ministers consent to have conference with me,' Mirabeau said, in September, 1789, 'they will find me devoted to the cause of the king and the well-being of the monarchy.' No attention was paid to his wish; Mirabeau entered into negotiations with Lafayette, who shuffled too long. With the offer of his genius Mirabeau found himself obliged to couple demands for money or for office, as was his wont. The confidence that his offer might have inspired was destroyed by the distrust born of his demands—a distrust for which his character was responsible.

At the critical hour, when Lafayette might perhaps have induced the court to summon himself and Mirabeau to the ministry, the alarm he excited in the Constituent Assembly made it vote the decree of November 7, excluding from the royal ministry all its members, but Mirabeau in particular. In this manner was finally shattered the plan that he had conceived of effecting a reconciliation, a 'coalition,' between the king and the nation for a common effort.

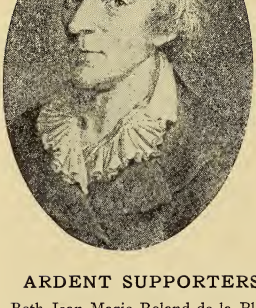
After March, 1790, he was degraded to the position of paid secret councillor to Louis XVI—Mirabeau was given a monthly pension and the promise of a million livres when the Assembly was dissolved. His situation was an ignoble one: that of a statesman who was unable to accomplish the work that should have established his glory and the well-being of the nation except by hiring himself out, and who could not save others except by irretrievably losing his own reputation. It was a thankless position, too, which exposed him alternately to the reproaches of the king and queen if he should attack in the Assembly the champions of the ancien régime, the reactionaries, with as much vigor as ever, and to the only too fully justified suspicions of the revolutionary zealots, and to the abuse of the public that would sometimes shout in the streets of 'the great treason of M. Mirabeau.'

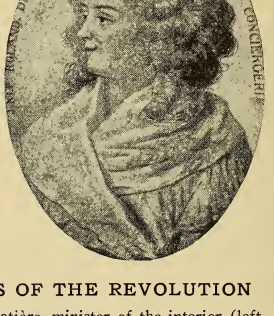
When, worn out by the turmoil of his life, by excesses of work as well as those excesses that ruined his health, he took to his bed (April, 1791), an anxious crowd hurried to the gates of his residence. On the day of his death his obsequies were an occasion of national mourning. The populace insisted on all the theaters closing, and with the concurrence of the citizens and the approval of all parties he was given a royal funeral. Demagogy, whose perils he had courageously denounced, both in his speeches and by his votes, did not bring him to book until after his death. Then it seized upon his remains, which had been laid in the Panthéon, and scattered them in the cemetery at Clamart, where the victims of the Terror were buried.

The period that followed upon Mirabeau's death was still one in which power was obtained through eloquence in the passion-filled debates of the Legislative Assembly, where there was a large party of orators which predominated for some time by reason of its cohesion and the brilliant talents of its members. The Girondins were, so to say, the small change of Mirabeau now suddenly withdrawn. With less good fortune, authority and ability, they endeavored to fight against the unreasonable demands and the violence of the Parisian democracy, which waxed steadily greater during the year 1792, because of the incapacity of the Assembly and the blunders of the monarchy. Towards the end of 1791 their impetuous youth, shaped by the teaching of classical antiquity, took the place, at first with brilliant effect, of the members of the Constituent Assembly whose reelection was forbidden by law. But with all their talent they had not the experience of their predecessors, nor the sense of the realities of politics.

At the beginning they did not all come from Gironde like Vergniaud, Guadet and Gensonné; some, like Isnard and Barbaroux, were from Marseilles and Toulon, some from Paris, like Louvet, or from Normandy, like Brissot. They grouped themselves round a man whose ability and character did not really entitle him to such influence—Brissot, a literary adventurer like Mirabeau, but lacking his genius, and like Lafayette an admirer of America and the free peoples, without ever having assisted them, how-

ever, in any way. The Girondins were at first called 'Brissotins'; and 'brissoter' was used as a synonym for 'to intrigue.' Brissot's intrigues, to which they gave their support by enthusiasm and vigorous, passionate speeches, had for object war against monarchical Europe; it seemed to be justified by the dealings of the émigrés on the frontiers with the German sovereigns. Brissot's success with the nation was due to the fact that France believed herself to be threatened, and meant to make her own Revolution secure by revolutionizing the entire Old World and regenerating it like herself; it was due, that is to say, to propaganda and self-defence.






**ARDENT SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTION**

Both Jean Marie Roland de la Platière, minister of the interior (left, by Nicolas Colibert), and his wife (right) were zealous members of the Girondist party. The portrait of Madame Roland is from the crayon and water-color drawing made at the Conciergerie before her execution in 1793. Her husband escaped the guillotine.

*Photo, Giraudon, and (right) Hennin Collection*

On October 20, 1791, Brissot explained his plans to the Assembly and the Jacobins. About a month later, on November 29, Isnard, in a flaming oration that enraptured the Assembly, the tribunes, all the people of France to whom it was addressed, called upon the French to undertake a crusade for liberty. 'Let us tell Europe that millions of Frenchmen, ablaze with the fire of liberty and armed with sword and pen, reason and eloquence, could alone, if driven to it, change the face of the world, and cause the tyrants on their thrones of clay to tremble.' At Isnard's words, the men of the Revolution, fanatical devotees of a new religion, saw themselves as heroes and believed they were invincible. On December 20, Condorcet secured the decree that seemed an Evangel addressed to the Europe of this new era.

Of all the Girondins, Vergniaud was the one who best represented the group, with his classical education and philosophy, and his studied oratory, correct but affecting and eloquent enough. Their ephemeral triumph may be said to have reached its apogee in March and April, 1792, when Louis XVI surrendered to them the reins of government which he had refused to Mirabeau, and, on their advice, supported by popular acclamation, declared war on Austria on April 20. Madame Roland, the beautiful and exceedingly zealous wife of their colleague, Roland, then minister for the interior, gathered all their efforts, their friendships and their talents in her salon.

But the control of the great patriotic and republican movement slipped from the hands of the Girondins on August 10. A year later they followed Louis XVI as its victims.

On August 30, 1792, Robespierre denounced them, in veiled terms that even then were a foreboding of their fate, to the Commune of Paris, thanks to them the only revolutionary force thenceforward capable of arousing patriotic enthusiasm—to the strains of the hymn of the federals whom their friend Barbaroux had summoned from Marseilles for their defence. The violence of the Parisian

mob, following upon the events of July 14 and October 5, 1789, was nothing in comparison with the massacres which, in September, inaugurated in the prisons the revolutionary Terror. The Girondins had not the courage to disavow them. Roland even found excuses for them, while Danton and even Robespierre were accessories to them; prison and the scaffold awaited them all in turn. 'It is to be feared,' Vergniaud had once exclaimed, 'that the Revolution may, like Saturn, devour her children.'

When he was condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal on April 16, 1794, Danton spoke these words: 'I shall fall asleep in glory—of that I am sure.' His name has indeed outlasted his power, which was short-lived, scarcely lasting for a year. It is permanently associated with the heroic effort which he directed during the early days of the Revolution, the effort of the French democracy to resist the invasion, repulsed at Valmy and eventually rolled back to the frontiers of Belgium and the Rhine. Georges Jacques Danton was a bourgeois of Champagne, both by birth and in his social position. His father, the son of peasants who had grown rich, had a middle-class house at Arcissur-Aube, where he practised as an attorney. Brought up by the Oratorians, nurtured upon much classical study and the reading of French authors like Rabelais, Molière or Diderot, he came to Paris, the magnet of the ambitious, in 1780, to seek his fortune as an advocate; he found it in 1787, on his marriage with a pretty daughter of the lemonade manufacturer Charpentier. His wife's dowry enabled him to acquire an advocate's practice in the Conseils du Roi; in this way he obtained a position that brought him among the bourgeoisie that was almost of the nobility. He now signed himself d'Anton, and as an advocate with plenty of well-feed briefs and an excellent home, and as a happily married man, he found life, in 1789, very peaceful and enjoyable.

**A NOTABLE GIRONDIST**

Bonneville painted this portrait of Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud (1753-92), the talented orator and Girondist leader. His denunciation of the September massacres aroused the opposition of the extremists and he was guillotined in 1793.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon*

The Parisian rising had hardly taken shape in the sections that were to deliver the attack upon the royal Bastille when there was heard in the district of the Cordeliers, one of the areas in which there was most excitement, a clamor on behalf of the people, raised by this bourgeois who certainly had no reason to complain either of the existing regime or of life. Perhaps it was the ambition of an advocate, or perhaps restlessness, which awakened the democratic instincts of his race in this grandson of a peasant, still attached to the soil of his home. The physical vigor with which Danton's ancestors had endowed him found an outlet when he played this improvised rôle of tribune, and perhaps even prompted him to play it. 'Nature,' he exclaimed, 'has given me in heritage the athletic frame and the rugged face of Liberty.' Danton's 'Titanic figure,' as it was described, dominated the Assembly until rivalry with Robespierre overthrew him.

**Danton's Rise to Power**

After Mirabeau, the noble in whom the third estate had found its leader and its orator, Danton, the provincial bourgeois, was the orator of the great popular movements, aided by an extraordinarily powerful voice, which sounded sometimes the tocsin heralding tragic events in the capital now in arms against the monarchy, sometimes a clarion call for a levée en masse in defence of the country. His eloquence was like additional energy joined to his physical strength; it was almost cynically unaffected, unprepared, unconventional, and punctuated with outbursts of violence and brutality; it burst forth, in apostrophes, in phrases that have become famous because they are still vibrant with the passions of their original hearers, or with the uproar of the occasions on which they were made—'Dare, dare, and again dare!' for example.

HORRORS OF THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES

Fourteen hundred persons were put to death in the wholesale butchery that took place in the prisons of Paris from September 2-7, 1792. This engraving shows the people assassinating prisoners at the Abbaye Saint-Germain, after the victims had been interrogated and condemned by twelve commissioners chosen by the people.

*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

As an individual he is disconcerting because of the contradictions in his life. The hero of the clubs and of the streets, the leader of mobs and the organizer of the Terror, the defender of the September massacres and the Revolutionary tribunals, was in private life twice married, each time to a pleasant woman whom he loved, and made for himself a comfortable home, conventionally middle-class; he built up a fortune for himself in houses and land in his native district of Arcis, for which he retained a constant affection; like so many of the bourgeois of his day, he was a buyer of national stock; he was fond of comfort, open-handed and generous, hospitable to his merry companies of friends, with whom he revelled in good cheer and merry talk.

Documents that we have to-day prove beyond question that the uncompromising republican, the Cyclops, the Atlas, the Hercules of the Revolutionary party, was also a revolutionary adventurer. Like Mirabeau, he took money from the court; he tried to obtain some from Pitt, to save Louis XVI. After August 10 he was given some, as minister, which he did not use only to meet ministerial expenses. His relations with financiers and contractors, his intimate association with men of bad reputation confirm the suspicions that Danton was devoid of scruples and compunction and without remorse. His public life also shows many puzzling contradictions.

Then, in the Year II of the Republic (1794), there began a tragic conflict between Danton's ambition and Robespierre's. On March 30, Saint-Just, an accomplice of Robespierre, read to the Committees of Public Safety and of General Security the report culminating with arraignment of Danton, who with his friends had been arrested 'as accomplices of Mirabeau, of Dumouriez and of the Girondins,' without reference to the

Convention. Nothing remained to Danton now but the fascination of his voice, the energy of his defence against the bloodthirsty dictatorship. He let all France hear 'his voice.' It made the jury tremble and the tribunal hesitate. His adversaries, Saint-Just in particular, obtained a decree of the Convention, on the pretext of a plot hatched by the guilty parties in their prisons, stating 'that their resistance was a confession.' On April 6 Danton was executed, in company with Camille Desmoulins, Hérault de Sechelles and Fabre d'Eglantine. 'There was universal mourning in Paris on that day,' wrote an eye-witness. When he was beaten Danton exclaimed to Robespierre, who got the best of him that day: 'Scoundrel! The scaffold will claim you. You next, Robespierre!'

The threat was not an empty one. On July 27, 1794, the Convention unanimously voted that the two Robespierres and their acolytes, Saint-Just and Couthon, should be put upon their trial. It revolted against the man to whose almost sovereign authority it had submitted for a year, and the Commune of Paris, in which Robespierre had attempted to find a last refuge, was smashed with him.

### Maximilien Robespierre

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE is one of the principal figures of the Revolution, which he represented in its most methodically violent and cruel phase, the regime of absolute Terror—in obedience, or so he claimed, to the general will and republican virtue. And yet, even more thoroughly than Danton, this democrat dictator was a bourgeois—a cultured, powdered, correct bourgeois, the son of an advocate in the Council of Artois, an excellent pupil of the college of Louis le Grand, member and laureate of learned societies in the provinces and a deputy of the third estate in the States-General. But he early made himself prominent in the Constituent Assembly by his opposition to the regime which that body wished to establish by the Constitution of 1791.

Robespierre came forward as the advocate of democracy in the Jacobin Club, which he founded and had been president of since 1790. Since 1789 he had pleaded for liberty of opinion with regard to the monarchy, protested against the royal veto, against the financial qualification for election to the Assembly, against the inequality of punishments for officers and men in the navy and army, and against the exclusion of poor citizens from the

**SATIRE AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION**

The intrigues of French emigres with European monarchs for the overthrow of the Revolution in the land they had deserted aroused the fierce contempt of the impassioned spirits who remained. This satire, entitled The Contra-Revolution, enjoyed a large sale in Paris in 1791. It represents an army of emigres, nobility and clergy, assembling, with a great waving of banners, on the wrong side of the Rhine. The figure on the extreme left is Calonne, carrying the army's treasure.

*Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris*

jury, the national guard and the electorate. His power was due to his having unceasingly given full publicity to this program in the workers' societies. A precise orator, of frigid aspect and stiff deportment, very different from Danton, he carefully prepared his harangues, which were often like sermons. But he delivered them as if inspired by a kind of revelation urging him to attack the vices, corruption and injustice of the enemies of the people and himself. He presented democracy to the masses as their sacred right to happiness through the triumph of justice and of virtue. Nobody knew better than Robespierre how to build upon the almost religious enthusiasm which the Revolution had aroused in the nation. His private life inspired confidence; when the people in its hour of crisis was menaced every day by famine, Robespierre seemed indifferent to good fare. Sober and continent in the family life that he had made for himself in the home of the joiner Duplay, he squared his conduct with his maxims of virtue and unselfishness. Desmoulins called him 'our Aristides,' and Marat proclaimed him 'the Incorruptible.' And Marat was 'the friend of the people.'

In 1792 Robespierre was the first choice of the Parisians as deputy to the Convention, and when war compelled the people to rely on him alone for the defence of French soil, he knew no rest until he had assumed control of the Committee of Public Safety. Patriots and democrats and sansculottes closed their ranks, in 1793 and 1794, about the man whom the Committee judged most worthy of directing, in the Convention and on the frontiers, the effort of the nation and democracy. They accepted the Terror as a kind of 'state of siege' which was justified by this tragic period of crisis at home and abroad.

Immediately before the sweeping victory of Fleurus, his pride in his work was gratified when on the 20th of Prairial (June 9) he presided, at the Tuileries and on the Champ de Mars, at the Festival of the Supreme Being—a new cult whose dogmas he had laid down in his speech to the Convention on the 18th of Floréal. On that day he became its consecrated high priest: an exceptionally competent high priest, when, aware of intrigues among the parties, he was obliged to expose and suppress his declared enemies or those who threatened to become such; yet withal he believed sincerely, like all fanatics, in the indispensability of his power for the advent of a new era.

No judgment upon him has better foundations than that of Brissot, the journalist, who was one of his victims:

> The Revolution is a religion; Robespierre has sectarianised it. He is a priest who has his devotees. He censures the great and the rich; he preaches and thunders against them. He lives very simply and does not know what physical wants are; he has achieved a reputation for austerity which aspires to saintliness. He talks of God and of Providence. He proclaims himself the friend of the poor, and is attaching to himself a following of women and of the mentally deficient.

A religion, 'la Patrie en danger,' carried him to the pinnacle of his power; but he was cast down from it when the country was no longer in danger. 'Victories,' said one of those who brought about his downfall, 'followed his footsteps.' In July, 1794 . . .

# NAPOLEON: HIS AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

## CHARACTER AND CAREER OF THE GREAT CAPTAIN WHO ALMOST MADE A FRENCH EMPIRE OF THE WESTERN WORLD

By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D.

*Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval History and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Author of The Life of Napoleon, The Life of Pitt, etc.*

NAPOLEON, the second surviving son of Carlo and Letizia Bonaparte, was born at Ajaccio in Corsica on August 15, 1769. His father was an indifferent lawyer and mediocre littérateur, descended from a family of Tuscan origin which had displayed average talents in law and diplomacy. His mother (née Ramolino) came of families which embodied the fighting spirit of the wild Corsican hinterland. While the other children, notably the eldest, Joseph, displayed ordinary gifts, Napoleon combined the scheming gifts of the paternal and the military prowess on the maternal side.

Up to his twenty-first year he hated France as the conqueror of Corsica, and his education at military schools in Brienne and Paris failed to Gallicise him. But the extension of the new French departmental system to Corsica in 1790 won him over. The logical doctrines of the democratic creed appealed to his clear-cut reasoning faculties; while the need of officers for the new nationalized army of France probably touched the sense of self-interest always very strong in his sternly objective nature. Returning to Corsica on furlough, the young officer headed the French or democratic party; but, when worsted by Paoli and the Corsican royalists, he fled with his family to Provence (June, 1793). He thus broke away from insular patriotism, and for the time identified himself with the Jacobin or ultra-Republican party then in power at Paris.

His services in organizing the French Republican artillery in the final operations which expelled Admiral Hood and the British and Spanish fleets from Toulon (then held by them and the French royalists) won golden opinions from Carnot and the other Jacobin leaders at Paris (December, 1793). But the subsequent fall of Robespierre, whose cause he had espoused, placed him in much danger; and an act of military disobedience led to his discharge from the army. In the dearth of good officers he could not be spared; and a skilful plan of campaign which he drew up against the Austrians and Sardinians in North Italy led to his reinstatement and finally to his promotion to the command of the French army about to invade that land.

Meanwhile, during the time of waiting at Paris, he did not entirely escape the disillusionment which overtook natures far more idealistic than his. The sight of the sordid struggles for power, the mean cruelty towards opponents, the corruption which debased 'the sons of liberty' and the seeming hopelessness of raising the Parisian mob to the level of citizenship, all conspired to reawaken his patrician instincts. His marriage with a fashionable widow, Josephine Beauharnais strengthened his reactionary tendencies; and when he set out for Nice in March, 1796, he had in reality exchanged Jacobinism for a cynical opportunism. Ready to spread Republicanism abroad, he despaired of its successful application to France. In fact, revolutionary enthusiasm then survived chiefly in the armies on the frontiers. At Paris it was moribund.

His Italian campaigns of 1796-7 exercised so potent an influence on Europe and on French politics that they must be briefly noticed here. Italy, then a mere mosaic of independent states, was well described by Nelson early in 1796: 'Italy is the gold mine; and if once entered is without the means of resistance.' At that time the young captain,

in command of a light squadron, was covering the left flank of the Austro-Sardinian forces guarding the Genoese riviera, but lacking adequate support he could not oppose successfully the French advance along the riviera in 1795 or thwart the blows which in April, 1796, Bonaparte showered successively on the Austrian and Sardinian forces to the north of Savona. Surprising the Austrian defenders of Lombardy by a swift march down the south bank of the River Po, Napoleon thus compelled them to a precipitate retreat to the line of its northern tributary, the Adda. This he forced by the brilliant capture of the bridge of Lodi, and drove the Austrians back on their only strong fortress south of the Alps, Mantua. His crowning victory of Rivoli and pursuit of the Austrians finally ensured the fall of Mantua (February 2, 1797). Meanwhile, he had been able to overrun central Italy and compel Pope Pius VI to an ignominious peace, and his occupation of Tuscany hastened the evacuation of Corsica by the British at the end of 1796. Early in 1797 he had no great difficulty in driving the demoralised Austrians over the Carnic and Noric Alps. By the mean compromise of the Peace of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797), Francis II ceded to France his Belgic provinces and secretly promised to aid her in acquiring all German lands up to the Rhine. He also ceded the Breisgau to the now dispossessed duke of Modena; and that duchy, together with Lombardy and the western half of the mainland territories of Venice, was soon erected into the Cisalpine Republic under the protection of France, which thus ousted Austria from north-central Italy. Of the other lands of Venice Francis II received the city of Venice and her eastern territories, but Bonaparte insisted that France should acquire the Ionian Isles.

'MADAME MERE'

Maria Letizia Ramolino (1750-1836) married Carlo Buonaparte in 1764. As Madame Mère she witnessed Napoleon's glory and his ruin, and after Waterloo she lived in seclusion in Rome.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Alinari*

Thus the Venetian Republic was blotted out by the action of the young general who claimed to champion Italian nationality. After the peace he soon found a pretext for dethroning the pope and erecting the Roman Republic under the aegis of that of France.

The Italian campaign and its results made the young general the idol of the soldiery and of the French nation, and he now secretly prepared an expedition, which the Directory approved, for the purpose of seizing Egypt, dominating the Red Sea and ultimately expelling the British from India.

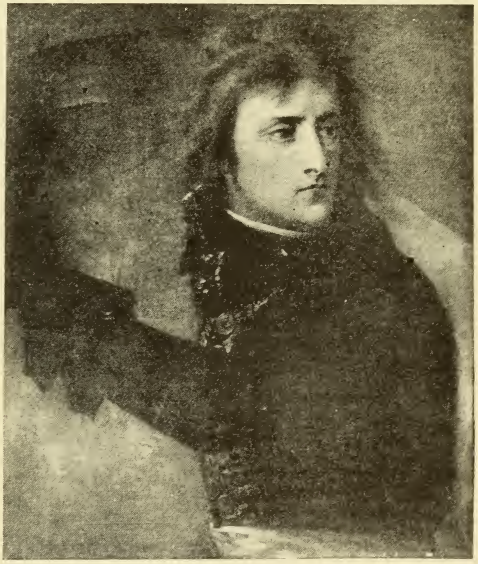
Bonaparte has been censured, and rightly, for ignoring Britain's sea power as a barrier to his eastern schemes; but it should be remembered that late in 1796 the British fleet had abandoned the Mediterranean, where it had no naval base east of Gibraltar; that near home she was threatened with invasion by a Franco-Spanish-Dutch combination of fleets; and that, as the French Directory had planned to strike at Kent or Ireland while Bonaparte took his force to Egypt, he might reasonably expect no serious interference in the Mediterranean. Therefore in full confidence he set sail from Toulon on May 19.

After easily capturing Malta, which he annexed to France, he landed his troops west of Alexandria, and captured that place, thereafter marching his troops up the Nile, or conveying them by flotilla, until he met the main body of the enemy opposite Cairo, where he defeated the superb cavalry of the Mamelukes with ease (July 21, 1798). He then occupied Cairo and was completing his conquest

when news reached him that Nelson had destroyed his fleet in Aboukir Bay, near to the mouth of the Nile (August 1). There ensued the barren campaign in Syria, with a serious reverse at Acre, where a British squadron under Sidney Smith effectively helped the Turkish garrison and finally compelled Bonaparte with heavy losses to retreat to Egypt. Nevertheless, at Aboukir Bay he defeated a badly handled Turkish force, and forthwith resolved to leave his army and return to France. By great good fortune he reached Fréjus on October 9, 1799, preceding the story of his Syrian failure, and met with a rapturous welcome as conqueror of the East.

The efforts of the civilian Directors of France to stave off invasion, civil war and bankruptcy had not failed as entirely as apologists of Bonaparte often assert. But, in spite of the brilliant successes of Masséna and Soult in Switzerland, 'la patrie' was in some danger in the south-east, while in the north-west royalist Brittany and Poitou defied the Republic, and everywhere discontent paralysed trade and depleted the treasury. Of all these symptoms Bonaparte gauged the import—that France wanted a strong government able to guarantee order at home and glory abroad. 'What have you done with France which I left in your hands so prosperous? I left you in peace, I find war. I left you victories, I find defeats. I left you millions, I find beggary! This state of things must cease'—by this and other tirades he assured the overthrow of the Directory, which came about easily on 18 Brumaire (November 9, 1799). He himself became First Consul, with two ciphers added as Second and Third Consuls. Thus, in a decade, the Revolution of 1789 took on a monarchical form, which became more pronounced in 1802, when Bonaparte was proclaimed First Consul for Life, and in 1804 Emperor of the French.

After skilfully compromising with the Breton royalists and ending or adapting the relics of Terrorist administration, Bonaparte overthrew Austria in the brilliant campaign of Marengo (June 14, 1800) and made the highly advantageous Peace of Amiens with England (March, 1802). In internal affairs he healed the breach with the now restored Papacy (Concordat of Easter, 1802), drew up a new and intelligible code of laws and by a wonderful succession of administrative and engineering triumphs gave



**BONAPARTE AT ARCOLA**

Bonaparte's defeat of the Austrians at Arcola in November, 1796, was a personal triumph. This portrait was painted by Baron Gros a few days afterwards, and ranks as one of the most important documents in Napoleonic iconography.

*The Louvre; photo, W. F. Mansell*

**JOSEPHINE BEAUHARNAIS**

Josephine, widow of the guillotined vicomte de Beauharnais, married Napoleon in 1796. The marriage proved childless, and for dynastic purposes Napoleon divorced her in 1810. She died at Malmaison in 1814, aged fifty-one.

*Portrait by Prud'hon; Wallace Collection*

France good roads, improved harbors, an extended system of canals and beautiful cities. These varied activities were rapidly pushed on or applied by the new prefects of departments working under the impact of his untiring and Argus-eyed intellect. Never did a country more need the exercise of Herculean organizing powers, and never were those powers so ably and fruitfully exercised. The outcome is modern France.

### Execution of the Duc d'Enghien

WHERE Robespierre and Sieyès had legislated for man in the abstract Bonaparte was content to make laws for the man in the street. The process entirely suited the French in 1799-1800. Hence at the end of 1800 he was able easily to get rid of the 'red' leaders under the pretext that they had concocted a plot which he knew to be 'white' or royalist; and in 1804 he terrorized the royalists by kidnapping and executing the duc d'Enghien, in spite of the entreaties of the far more merciful Josephine.

If he could have adopted a peaceful policy abroad his success would have been not only phenomenal but lasting. But his interventions in the affairs of neighboring states, especially in the Cisalpine, Genoese, Swiss and Batavian (Dutch) republics, alarmed and exasperated those peoples and all interested in them, besides upsetting the European settlement reached in 1801-2. Great Britain alone protested with vigor against these infractions of the European order, but she was isolated, her maritime code having led to hostilities or sharp tension with the northern powers and Prussia, while Austria, after her two great defeats, was too timid to move except under severe provocation. Over-estimating his advantages and the complaisance of the Addington ministry then in power at Westminster, Napoleon (for such we must call him after the assumption of hereditary power) pressed on his control of the states above named, and set about plans which promised to make France the great world power in place of Great Britain.

In particular, in March, 1803, he dispatched an expedition to India with secret instructions which implied aggressive and conquering moves at the end of 1804. Early in the year 1803 he had published in the official Moniteur a report of his agent to the East, General Sébastiani, referring to the ease with which the French could again conquer Egypt. The British Government therefore declined to evacuate Malta (captured in 1800) in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens. Napoleon pressed his demands to the point of a rupture, which came about in May, 1803.

After forcing the Batavian or Dutch Republic to side with him, he made portentous efforts for an invasion of England or Ireland, believing for some time that his great flotilla of flat-bottomed boats could fight its way across alone. Revising this opinion, he next devised various plans for a naval combination of French, Dutch and finally Spanish warships which would ensure temporary command of the Channel and provide a sure escort for his flotilla concentrated on

Boulogne, which was to transport an army of some 100,000 veteran troops. For the most part these plans were countered by the tenacious blockade of the Brest fleet by Cornwallis, and the more distant but equally effective observation of the Toulon fleet by Nelson. The escape of the latter force under Villeneuve in March, 1805, its union with Spanish warships at Cadiz, its voyage to and from the West Indies, failed in their ultimate object. Villeneuve, intercepted off Cape Finisterre by Admiral Calder, finally decided to put about and make for Cadiz. Thereupon Napoleon in a fury ordered his Army of England, long encamped near Boulogne, to march eastwards against the Austrian army then mustering on the upper Danube.

### Victory of Austerlitz

It is an open question whether he had not of late desired and played for this military solution of a singularly difficult and dangerous naval problem. His annexation of the Genoese Republic in June, 1805, was an open defiance of the Austrian and Russian emperors, who could not see unmoved a further violation of the principle of the balance of power. At once they took counsel for joint military action to end these intolerable aggressions, and war therefore ensued between Napoleon and the two emperors. They had counted on uniting their armies near Ulm for the invasion of Alsace, assuming that he was still at Boulogne, occupied with the invasion schemes. In these he now found an excellent blind. At the close of August, 1805, he began to march his troops secretly towards the Rhine and thence concentrate them on the upper Danube. So skilful were his moves that he was able by rapid marching to encircle the over-confident Austrians at or near Ulm and compel the surrender of nearly their whole force (October 20-25). The belated Russians and the relics of Austria's array retired through Vienna into Moravia, where Napoleon dealt them the death blow by the most dramatic and most complete of his victories, Austerlitz (December 2, 1805).

The results of Austerlitz were immense. Before that victory he was in a highly critical situation with an unfriendly Prussia on his flank. After it he gave the law to all the Continent. The Russians now retired eastwards under cover of an

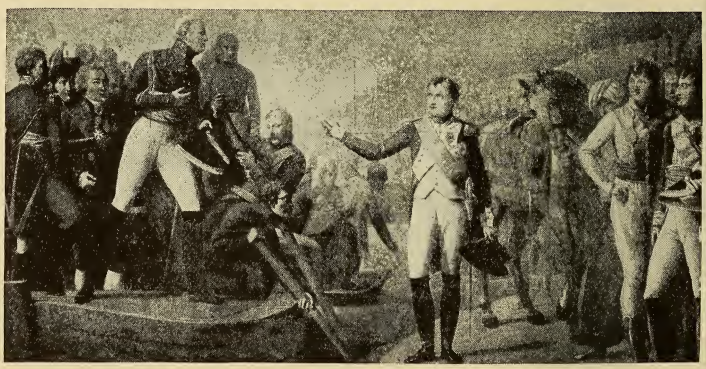
BONAPARTE SURVEYS THE LAND FROM EGYPT'S HIGHEST PYRAMID

Bonaparte's desire to encourage art and science, which he so earnestly promoted in France, was further manifested on his Egyptian expedition. Although his main aim on this occasion was to drive the British from their Eastern possessions, he used the opportunity to take with him several savants who might examine the antiquities and develop learning and culture in Egypt. Dutertre's drawing represents the great general, surrounded by interested researchers, mounted on the topmost pyramid.

*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

In 1806 Napoleon utterly defeated the Prussians at Jena and afterwards occupied Berlin. This engraving of Ulrich Ludwig Wolf's drawing shows Napoleon riding triumphantly along Unter den Linden. Behind him is the famous Brandenburg Gate, erected in 1790 and surmounted by the historic quadriga, which the French carried off in 1807. It was restored in 1814.

*From Oncken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*



After the defeat of the combined forces of Russia and Prussia by Napoleon at Friedland, the tsar, Alexander I, abandoned his Prussian ally and came to terms with the conqueror. On a raft in the middle of the Niemen the first interview of Tilsit was held, in 1807, Alexander promising to support the Continental System. Napoleon's leave-taking is the subject of this painting by Gioachino Serangeli.

## NAPOLEON VICTORIOUS IN ENCOUNTERS WITH PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Neurdein*

armistice, and Francis II of Austria soon signed with him the Peace of Pressburg, ceding to him her gains of the partition of Venice—that is, eastern Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia. She also recognized his recent changes in Italy and those now planned in Germany which raised the electors of Bavaria and Württemberg to regal dignity. To these rulers and to the grand duke of Baden she ceded her scattered Swabian domains, and received in indemnification only the bishopric of Salzburg.

Further, by marrying his step-son Eugène de Beauharnais to the daughter of the king of Bavaria, his youngest brother, Jerome Bonaparte, to the daughter of the king of Württemberg, and Josephine's niece to the heir of the grand duchy of Baden, he strengthened his alliances with these South German states, and thus prepared for the formation of a large Napoleonic-German union. This took form in July, 1806, in the Confederation of the Rhine, which united all the West and South German states in a federation skilfully designed to secure his predominance and their subservience in all important matters.

Another result of Austerlitz was the invasion by the French of the recalcitrant kingdom of Naples, whence the king and queen fled in haste to Sicily, there long remaining under the shelter of the British fleet. Meanwhile, the collapse of Pitt's schemes for raising North Germany against the French had led to his death from exhaustion (January 23, 1806), and this year, 1806, was to lead to the overthrow of the power on which the British statesman had vainly counted.

Prussia, under her king, Frederick William III, had long pursued a weak and wavering policy which in the spring of 1806 sank to its nadir in the surrender of vital interests to Napoleon. But when the emperor pressed her too hard the old Prussian spirit flared up and war ensued. As before, Napoleon's moves into Germany were too well concerted, too swift for the unskilful defence, which utterly collapsed at the twin battles of Jena-Auerstädt (October 14, 1806). Thereafter Napoleon occupied Berlin and flooded the Prussian plain with his cavalry and light columns, the king and his high-spirited queen Luise retiring first to Königsberg and finally to Memel on the Niemen. When Tsar Alexander belatedly came to the aid of Prussia in her extremity their joint forces were defeated at the battle of Friedland; whereupon the tsar gave up the struggle, abandoned his ally, and struck a profitable bargain with the conqueror in the Treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807). Of its many results we can notice only those which directly concerned Napoleon. Prussia now had to cede its Polish lands, which were organized by Napoleon into a state dependent on him, termed the duchy of Warsaw. The new order of things in Germany was also recognized. Danzig became a free city, really under French control. In effect Prussia was halved and Poland was half-reconstituted under Napoleon's protection.

By the secret Treaty of Tilsit he and Alexander agreed to make common cause against any power which did not accept the mediation of one of them. Russia and Prussia also agreed to exclude British goods, a formidable extension of the Berlin Decrees of November, 1806, which had banned them from all lands under Napoleon's control. Tilsit placed Europe at the feet of Napoleon and Alexander, and promised to bring about a union of nearly all Europe under their control.

The French emperor now sought to master all the important coasts of Europe in order to ensure the commercial strangulation of Great Britain. He therefore used his enormous power to coerce Sweden and Portugal, the latter being partitioned by a secret agreement with the Spanish court. When French troops had occupied Lisbon they proceeded to seize strategic positions in Spain, and finally occupied Madrid. Thereupon. by a series of clever but unscrupulous moves, he dethroned the Spanish Bourbons, substituting his brother Joseph. These acts and the annexation of part of the Papal States to the newly formed kingdom of Italy sprang out of the policy of Tilsit, which aimed essentially at controlling the continent of Europe in what he termed his Continental System, devised for the commercial ruin of Great Britain. After the defeat of Villeneuve and Gra-

vina at Trafalgar this seemed to be the only means of ensuring the overthrow of the obstinate islanders; and thereafter all his efforts had in view the perfecting of this mighty fiscal engine of war.

In May, 1808, it had so far succeeded

**NAPOLEON'S AUSTRIAN BRIDE**

Napoleon married Marie Louise (1791-1847), daughter of Francis II of Austria, in 1810, and she bore him a son the following year. This engraving after Bossio's original drawing shows her at the age of eighteen.

*From Oncken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*

that he was laying his plans for a great Franco-Spanish expedition which would assure the conquest of Turkey and the Levant. But at that crisis the Spanish people rose in a spasm of fury at the insults to their national pride and won surprising successes over the French forces holding Madrid, Saragossa and the province of Andalusia. Joseph fled from his capital to muster French troops behind the line of the river Ebro, and the whole situation changed as if by magic. The Spanish patriots sent deputations to beg help from their enemy, and the British foreign secretary, Canning, realizing the meaning of the Spanish national rising, at once expressed his ardent sympathy, which George III and Parliament finally clinched by a treaty of alliance.

Thus began the Peninsular War. For the first time the sea power found on the Continent a sure base in the estuary of the Tagus for its troops, which always had ready means of supply and reinforcements, while the French armies sent to drive them out had to struggle through several hundred miles of difficult country and a hostile population hardened to guerilla warfare. The combination of sea power operating at Lisbon in support of national efforts of Spaniards and Portuguese proved to be unconquerable, even in successive campaigns waged by the ablest marshals of France.

During the years 1808-1813 France poured out her life blood uselessly in the Peninsular campaigns, the issue of which encouraged all the elements of resistance to Napoleon throughout Europe.

So jealous, however, were Austria and Prussia that, even after their dire misfortunes consequent on disunion, they would not pull together, and for the present Napoleon used successfully his unique powers of fascination in keeping Alexander in tow. Thus, when Austria decided again to break away from Napoleon's irksome control, she found no support at Berlin and gained no timely help from England. In the spring of 1809, relying on Napoleon's absorption in the Spanish campaign, she threw down the gauntlet.

Hurrying back from the north of Spain, Napoleon assumed command of the French forces previously scattered along the upper Danube and, by a wonderfully skilful concentration, gained a succession of victories which drove back the Austrians to the north bank of the Danube opposite Vienna. There they won the hotly contested battle of Aspern and placed Napoleon in jeopardy, while the brave Tyrolese peasants under Hofer threatened his communications near Munich. Yet he contrived to bring up forces which, superbly handled, crossed the Danube and inflicted on the archduke Charles a sanguinary defeat at Wagram (July 6, 1809). Thereafter, Austria

made peace, ceding to the French Empire Carinthia, Carniola and parts of Friuli, Croatia and Dalmatia.

An equal blow to Hapsburg pride was the sacrifice of the archduchess Marie Louise as a bride to Napoleon. His recent divorce of Josephine was prompted by motives of policy. She had borne him no heir, and he judged the time opportune for founding a dynasty. Though he might have adopted an heir, he put aside this alternative and decided to part with his old love, towards whom his once volcanic passion had cooled. His present decision was hard, even to callousness, and the superstitious noted that after the divorce and the Austrian marriage his good fortune forsook him. As logically might that change of fortune be attributed to his dethronement and banishment of Pope Pius VII, an event which shocked Christendom. Rome was now annexed to the French Empire. The son born to him in March, 1811, by Marie Louise was proclaimed king of Rome, but the ceremony of proclaiming him on the Capitol, fixed for 1812, never took place. Napoleon was then fighting for his life in Russia.

THE KING OF ROME

This portrait of Napoleon's infant son is by Gérard, successful painter of child subjects. In his right hand the solemn child holds the sceptre of the kingdom of Rome; in his left the cross of the Legion of Honor.

We may pause here to note that the years of the Napoleonic supremacy (1809-12) were marked by great public works which brought new life into the French Empire, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands. The Code Napoléon was introduced with beneficent results wherever his will had sway. Feudalism was stricken down, education received some impulse under state control, and religious toleration was extended. All this was to the good; and many Germans, including Goethe, believed that Napoleon's rule furthered the best interests of the German people, and nearly all Italians held a similar view.

But the experiment of a vast European state, or, as he phrased it later, the United States of Europe, required many years of peace and of just and tactful government for its due realization. These opportunities the restless will and aggressive temper of the 'New Charlemagne' denied to his peoples, who asked only for peace and a just and mild government. While the British, Spanish and Portuguese defied him, he bent all the resources of his empire and of the Confederation of the Rhine to the ruin of British commerce and the subjection of the Iberian peoples.

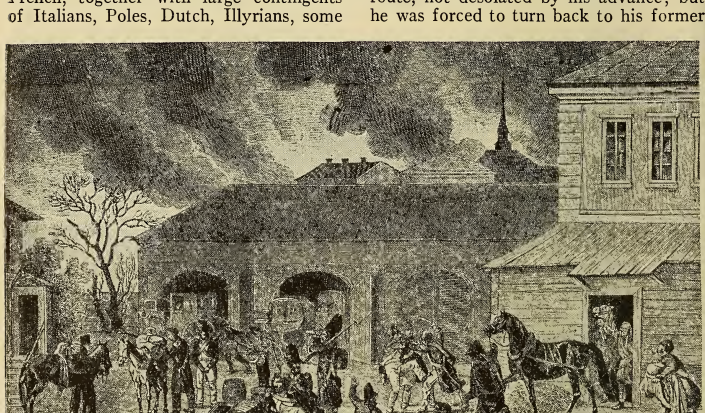
Consequently in 1810 he tightened the fiscal cordon around all his long coastline, so as virtually to ban from the Continent all colonial products, on the assumption that they were British, and he ordered the confiscation of all goods which were of British origin. These seizures produced infinite hardships, and whatever good was done by his administration was largely undone by his harsh fiscal policy. The Continental System was the fundamental cause of his ruin; for at the end of 1811 Tsar Alexander made it clear that Russia, dependent as she was on colonial goods, could no longer bear the yoke fastened on her at Tilsit, and made unendurable in 1810.

Hence came the rupture between Russia and France, which yawned wider and wider until open war began on the Niemen at midsummer, 1812.

Napoleon therefore had to wage two mighty campaigns; one in Spain and Portugal, where Wellington and the allies now had assured bases of operation at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; the other in Russia, more than a thousand miles from the Rhine. A prudent ruler would have sought to compromise on one of these disputes in order to concentrate on the other. But a long vista of triumph had hardened Napoleon's heart against all thought of compromise. Therefore he marshalled huge masses of men, who with pathetic fidelity struggled on towards both the Tagus and the Dvina in the belief that a lasting peace would result from his triumph.

A sign of the vast power of his will was the march of some 150,000 Germans into Russia for a quarrel which was his, not theirs. About the same number of French, together with large contingents of Italians, Poles, Dutch, Illyrians, some Swiss and even a few Spaniards, made up the Grand Army destined for the invasion of Russia. Austria and Prussia supported it with flanking armies, which in the main marked time.

Viewed as a whole, Napoleon's campaign of 1812 sinned against the principles of sound strategy as much as against those of sound policy. The Fabian policy of retirement adopted by the Russian leader, Barclay de Tolly, and unwillingly followed by his rivals and the rank and file, brought Napoleon to Smolensk and then to the banks of the Moskva. At Borodino Russian patriotic pride counselled a stand, which cost Napoleon a bloody and almost fruitless victory. There followed the occupation of Moscow, the burning of large parts of it by the Russians or by French and Polish plunderers, and the final discovery of Napoleon that he had been duped into remaining there until a dangerously late date (October 19). Then he sought to retreat by the southern route, not desolated by his advance; but he was forced to turn back to his former



LOOTING IN THE SMOKE-GRIMED STREETS OF MOSCOW

After Napoleon's victory at Borodino, on September 7, 1812, had left the conqueror an open road to Moscow, the Russian troops evacuated the city and the French took possession of the Kremlin on September 14. Fire broke out the same night, and the few inhabitants left. There followed chaotic scenes of pillage and a general rising of the peasants. Adam's drawing illustrates a Moscow street scene on September 20, 1812, when the lust for plunder had invaded the Russians themselves.

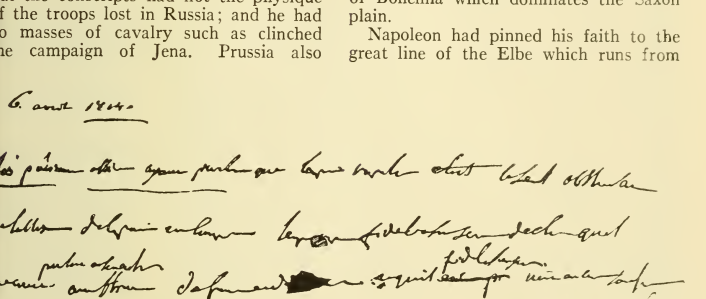
*From Oncken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*

devastated track. In it he saw the Grand Army wither away under famine, frost and snow.

From this disaster he never fully recovered. France and the subject states made loyal efforts to raise new armies; but the conscripts had not the physique of the troops lost in Russia; and he had no masses of cavalry such as clinched the campaign of Jena. Prussia also turned against him. In the first part of the Saxon campaign of 1813 his genius and the enthusiasm of his young troops won surprising successes over the Prussians and Russians, who were poorly led and badly equipped. After forcing them back into the foothills of the Riesengebirge he granted an armistice, mainly because he needed time both for bringing up a large force of veteran cavalry from the Spanish war, and also for negotiations which would range Austria actively on his side.

The cavalry he obtained, though to the detriment of his resistance to Wellington's triumphant progress northwards to the Pyrenees. Austria's help he did not obtain. Her astute statesman, Metternich, after hearing of Wellington's decisive victory at Vittoria, came to an understanding with the Allies. These, meanwhile, had come to a closer union and welcomed the overtures from Vienna. Accordingly on August 10, 1813, when the prolonged armistice ended, Austria joined them and admitted their armies into the great mountain bastion of Bohemia which dominates the Saxon plain.

Napoleon had pinned his faith to the great line of the Elbe which runs from south-east to north-west across Germany. The first attempt of the Allies to turn his line failed before his brilliant concentration of troops at Dresden which gained him his last great victory (August 23). Elsewhere things went awry. His lieutenants suffered sharp reverses which compromised the French main force and enabled Blücher with the Silesian army to work round Napoleon's northern flank, meet Bernadotte's forces from the north and then close in on Leipzig from the north-west. Around that city on October 16-19 was fought the series of battles known as the 'Völkerschlacht' (Battle of the Nations), which ended in Napoleon's overthrow and retreat westwards to the Rhine. Even during that retreat he let slip the opportunity of accepting the Frankfort terms of the Allies which would leave him in



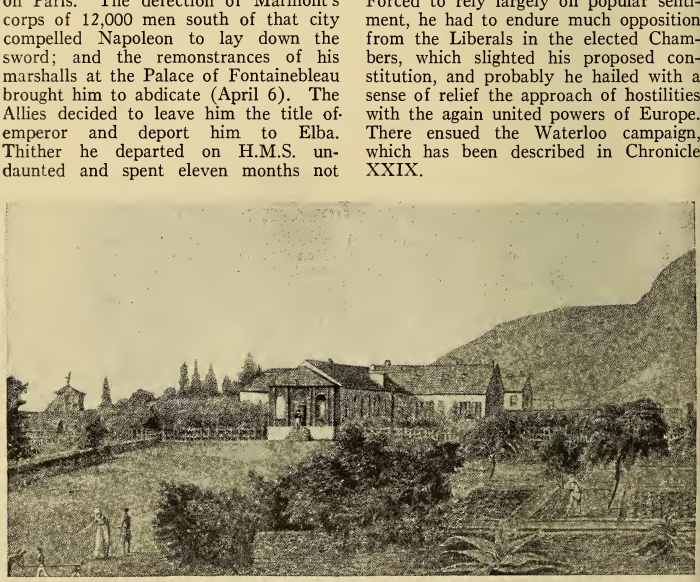
**FACSIMILE OF NAPOLEON'S AUTOGRAPH DEED OF ABDICATION**

On April 6, 1814, Napoleon with his own hand wrote this momentous document: 'Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoléon était le seul obstacle au retablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur, fidèle à son serment, déclare qu'il renonce pour lui et ses enfans, aux trônes de France et d'Italie, et qu'il n'est aucun sacrifice, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire aux intérêts de la France.' It is badly blotted and the handwriting is almost illegible.

undisturbed possession of the French Empire.

Accordingly, early in 1814, they crossed the Rhine and invaded Alsace, while Wellington was battering in the southern defences of France. The position of Napoleon seemed hopeless; but, as the Allies advanced in the east and north loosely and over too wide a front, he from his central position in the Seine basin was able to deal them severe blows and hurl them back for a time. Ultimately their weight of numbers, and the pressure of Wellington's advance in the south, placed him in a desperate position; so that Blücher and the bolder spirits in the Prussian army ended his last spasmodic efforts by a swift move on Paris. The defection of Marmont's corps of 12,000 men south of that city compelled Napoleon to lay down the sword; and the remonstrances of his marshalls at the Palace of Fontainebleau brought him to abdicate (April 6). The Allies decided to leave him the title of emperor and deport him to Elba. Thither he departed on H.M.S. undaunted and spent eleven months not unhappily in his little realm. Marie Louise declined to accompany him, and soon formed a connection with Count Neipperg. The little king of Rome was brought up at the Austrian court and died comparatively young of a mysterious disease.

It was not long before the disputes of the victorious allies concerning the future of Europe, and the tactless behavior of the restored Bourbons, gave Napoleon his chance. He escaped from Elba to Antibes on the coast of Provence (March, 1815), and as he proceeded towards Grenoble met with an enthusiastic welcome from the troops, and henceforth carried all before him. But his position at Paris as emperor was far from secure. Forced to rely largely on popular sentiment, he had to endure much opposition from the Liberals in the elected Chambers, which slighted his proposed constitution, and probably he hailed with a sense of relief the approach of hostilities with the again united powers of Europe. There ensued the Waterloo campaign, which has been described in Chronicle XXIX.



**LONGWOOD, ST. HELENA, WHERE NAPOLEON SPENT HIS LAST EXILE**

On his first arrival at St. Helena, Napoleon lived in a house called the Briars in the charge of Admiral Cockburn, but in April, 1816, he was transferred to Longwood, a larger house of the bungalow type on an elevated plateau, and committed to the custody of Sir Hudson Lowe. As time went on he confined himself ever more rigorously within this small domain, getting some necessary exercise by working in the garden shown in this sketch, the work probably of General Gourgaud.

*From Dayot, 'Napoléon raconté par l'Image'*

This time the overthrow was irretrievable, and as the royalist movement in France everywhere gained ground, his surrender to the Allied troops near Paris or to the British warships on the coast was a foregone conclusion. Arriving at Rochefort, he finally surrendered to H.M.S. Bellerophon off that port (July 15), and the British government decided that he should be detained thenceforth at St. Helena. He solemnly protested against this decision as a violation of the rights of hospitality which he had come freely to claim at the hearth of the prince regent. This plea was contrary to the undoubted fact that on July 15 he had come to the end of his resources and was in effect a prisoner. The same plea was kept up during the years of exile at St. Helena (1815-21); that he was the victim of England's guile and meanness; that Sir Hudson Lowe, soon appointed governor of the island, maltreated and half starved him and his French comrades at Longwood; that, in fine, he was the friend of the human race, chained to that rock, like Prometheus, by superior force. In point of fact the British government allotted £10,000 a year for the support of the emperor and his suite. Also Sir Hudson Lowe, though annoyingly pedantic on points of detail (for example, in refusing absolutely to countenance the title of emperor), was never rude or harsh. On the contrary, he sought to promote the comfort of the exiles, so far as their set design of posing as political martyrs would allow it.

NAPOLEON DICTATING TO GOURGAUD

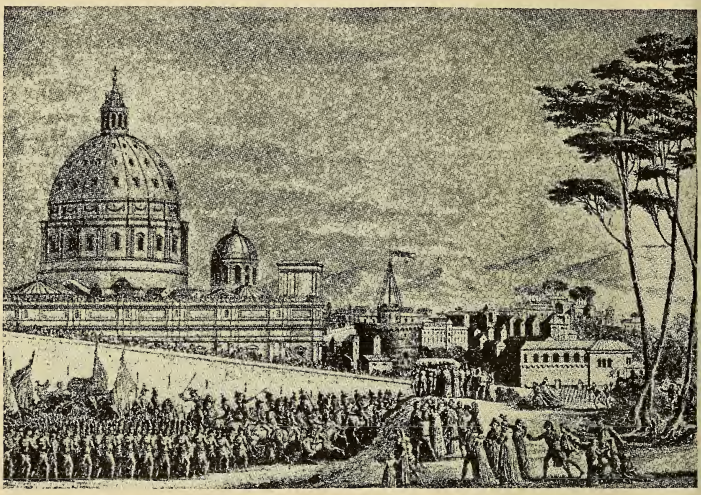
One of Napoleon's chief relaxations in the last years at St. Helena was the composition of memoirs which he dictated to his companions, Gourgaud, Las Cases and Montholon. His slovenly dress in this lithograph after Steuben's painting of him so engaged contrasts pathetically with his previous soldierly appearance.

*Crawford Collection, British Museum*

Some futile efforts were made by relatives and friends, especially in the United States, to effect his rescue; and the knowledge that these plans were afoot caused the British government and Lowe to maintain ceaseless vigilance. So the

weary years crawled on, and the sympathy which men and women always feel with fallen greatness brought about a strong Napoleonic reaction which reached its height on the news of his death on the faraway island of St. Helena (May 5, 1821).

In 1840 his remains were brought to France. They now repose in the Invalides at Paris, in the heart of the nation which he raised to unequalled heights of glory and yet left depressed and exhausted by the ruinous excess of his masterful qualities.



TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF THE FRENCH INTO THE ETERNAL CITY

After the formal condemnation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy animosity between the French Republic and the Papacy grew steadily fiercer. Early in 1798, during popular disturbances in Rome, the French general Duphot was assassinated and papal soldiers insulted the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte. On February 15, 1798, acting on orders from the Directory, General Berthier entered and took possession of the Eternal City, and proclaimed the Roman Republic.

*Engraving by Berthault after Girardet; from Dayot, 'La Revolution francaise'*

# JOHN WESLEY AND NONCONFORMITY

THE REVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS FEELING IN ENGLAND AND THE MAN WHOSE CHARACTER AND CAREER DID MOST TO PROMOTE IT

By SYDNEY G. DIMOND

*Author of The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*

THE fascination of the eighteenth century for the modern mind is due to many elements in its history, but not least to the renascence of true religion, at the heart of which was the attractive personality of John Wesley. An astonishing record of achievement has always a charm of its own, but when the work of one man dominates a whole century of England's history we have material for perennial and refreshing interest. Before turning to the study of Wesley's character and influence it is worth while to glance at some of the conditions abroad and at home which not only made his work possible, but in a very real sense shaped the course of the revival.

Any interpretation of Methodism would fail which did not take into account the breath of new life which swept over Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and marked the end of an old order and the creation of the modern world. The religious revival is part of a comprehensive change of life and thought which altered the character of western Europe. In the period covered by Wesley's life, France experienced a dramatic transformation from autocratic medievalism to revolutionary democracy. In Wesley's early years, Bossuet, the thundering orator of French orthodoxy, was still alive, yet Voltaire's most valuable work was done while Wesley was still in his prime, and Mirabeau died only a month later than Wesley. Methodism took root and became established while France was reaping the fruit of seed sown by Montesquieu, Diderot, Voltaire and Rousseau; England was dominated by a creative religious movement while France was in the midst of the French Revolution. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that both revival and revolution were signs of the same spiritual awakening, and that they were not unrelated to the birth of national consciousness in the German people. If the eighteenth-century renascence was mainly political in France and philosophical in Germany, in England it was mainly religious.

In the world of literature the distinguishing mark of the later eighteenth century was a revolt against a rigid and artificial classicism, and a quickening of the imagination which set free the romantic spirit. Although the religious revival cannot be regarded as the cause of the literary movement, there is good reason for believing that they both sprang from a common source, and that the stirring of emotion and passion by Wesley's mission created an atmosphere peculiarly congenial to the growth of imaginative literature.

Colonization and imperial expansion frequently appear to us in the light of a manufacture rather than a creation, yet the curious combination of luck and good management which founded the British Empire in the eighteenth century has all the marks of creative genius. Captain Cook and Wesley were contemporaries, and the glamor of adventure and exploration had its own appeal to the mind of both men. The infant colony of Georgia was the scene of Wesley's first missionary enterprise, but before his great campaign began the whole of the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Florida was in English hands, and when he was sixty years old the end of the Seven Years' War left the fortunes of Canada and India bound up with those of Britain. Green estimates the population of the American Colonies at 1,200,000 whites and a quarter of a million negroes in the middle of the eighteenth century. No adequate attempt was

**JOHN WESLEY PREACHING IN THE OPEN AIR AT ROSANNA, COUNTY WICKLOW, IRELAND**

John Wesley paid no fewer than forty-two visits to Ireland. One of many places where he frequently preached was Willybank, on the estate of Mr. William Tighe at Rosanna, Co. Wicklow, and this picture of an actual occasion of his doing so was painted by Maria Taylor, née Spilsbury, while staying with the Tighes. The portrait of Wesley is copied from the Romney portrait (see page 2450), then in Mrs. Tighe's possession, and most of the other figures in the large composition are portraits from life, including Mr. Taylor, the artist's husband, in light waistcoat in front of the schoolhouse on the right.

*Wesley Museum*

made by the national church, nor indeed by any church, to provide for the religious needs of the great and growing populations overseas, and consequently when Wesley sent his preachers across the Atlantic they found before long a ready hearing, and the genius of Methodism proved itself to be peculiarly adapted to the spirit of the English-speaking colonists.

Social and industrial activities in the home country manifest the same creative impulse, and are characterised by changes which were directly related to the development of Methodism. Wesley began his work amid the static society of 1738, when the typical statesman was Walpole, whose motto, 'tranquilla non movere,' might be translated 'change is the cause of all unrest'; but before long Wesley found himself involved in the administration of a vast religious organization amid the complex life of modern England. Following upon the growth of coal mining and the iron industry, together with a marvellous development of mechanical invention, of which the steam engine and the power loom are only two examples, came the rise of the industrial towns and a vastly increased population in the north of England. As the large number of English settlers in the new colonies created the opportunity for Methodism overseas, so the new industrial populations provided the most fruitful field for Wesley's work in the home country.

HOW THE POOR LIVED IN LONDON IN 1750

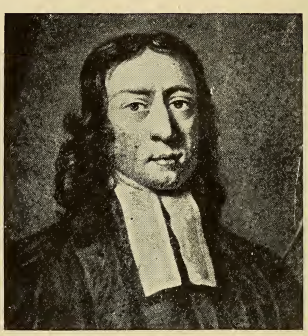
Almost unbelievable degradation defiled town life for the poor in the eighteenth century, aggravated by the rampant drunkenness resulting from the repeal of restrictions on the sale of gin. In his Gin Lane, produced in 1751, Hogarth gives a scarcely exaggerated picture of conditions prevalent in St. Giles's, London, round about New Oxford Street.

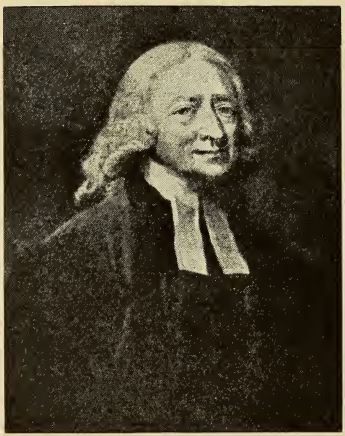
Along with a very high level of artistic achievement in architecture, decoration and craftsmanship, there was in the early part of the century a very low level of social morality. Court and aristocracy were alike corrupt, and the poorer classes were sunk in ignorance and depravity. There is indeed 'a reverse to any pleasant picture of town life in the eighteenth century, and Hogarth painted it; behind his jolly Beer Street ran his foul Gin Lane. In every town, beside the prosperous masters, journeymen and apprentices, lived a mass of beings, physically and morally corrupt, for whose bodies no one, and for whose souls only the Methodists, had a thought to spare.' (G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century.)

These evils were intensified in the latter half of the century by the increase of the population, the low rates of wages in the factories and the development of the industrial areas without any of the

old religious and social loyalties which survived in the country districts. Neither Church nor State attempted to meet the new spiritual need; not a single new parish was created; and the pathetic picture of Bartle Massey's night school, described by George Eliot in Adam Bede, is typical of the only education available for masses of the people.

It is not surprising that the absentee God of the educated Deists was matched by remote spiritual powers—'them above,' as Dolly Winthrop called them—who were regarded by the illiterate with complete distrust and fear. The religious life of the eighteenth century may be painted in very dark colors, but it must be remembered that there has always been a strong vein of genuine religion in the English character. Among the happiest pictures of the time is The Diary of a Country Parson by James Woodforde (edited by John Beresford, 1924). No strong lead, however, came from the Church of England, because she was suffering from the evictions which, culminating in the secession of the nonjurors in 1688, had robbed her of her most gifted, saintly and devoted sons. Nonconformity inherited certain weaknesses from its own struggle for religious freedom; political factors were brought into undue prominence, and the need for insistence upon the independence for which Dissenters had heroically fought was in danger of eclipsing the eternal verities of religious experience. Undoubtedly Christianity was at a low ebb as a result of the long wars which had filled the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Montesquieu, on his return from a visit to England, bluntly declared that there was no religion in that country, while so sane and balanced a witness as Bishop Butler speaks of 'the general decay of religion in this nation, which is now observed by everyone.'





FOUNDER OF METHODISM

John Wesley declared his preference for these two portraits of himself. The upper one was painted by John Williams in 1741; the lower one, by Romney in 1789, two years before Wesley's death at the age of eighty-eight.

*Engravings in the Wesley Museum*

Into such a world came John Wesley, visiting almost every town and village in England and Wales and not a few in Scotland and Ireland, and organizing a band of preachers who, for the most part, lived with and shared the daily toil of those to whom they preached.

Here is a pen-portrait of John Wesley as he was seen by the eyes of his contemporaries:

A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and most piercing that can be conceived and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, and expressive of the most perfect health. In his countenance and demeanor, there was a cheerfulness mingled with gravity; a sprightliness, which was the natural result of an unusual flow of good spirits. His aspect, particularly in profile,

had a strong character of acuteness and penetration . . . A narrow, plaited stock, a coat with small upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow, gave an idea of something primitive and apostolical; while an air of neatness and cleanliness diffused over his whole person.

Born in 1703, the fifteenth child of his parents, John Wesley was so frail that his father baptised him on the day of his birth; yet he lived to the age of eighty-eight, and his faculties were unimpaired when he died in 1791. The rule he laid down for one of his preachers was that of his own life: 'Lie down before ten; rise before six. Every day use as much exercise as you can bear; or—murder yourself by inches.' In spite of the constitutional lethargy consequent upon his physical weakness, he trained himself into habits of ceaseless diligence, and crowded every day with a rigid programme of astonishingly varied activity.

Wesley's place among the divines is indisputable, but for this reason his Journal has not always been awarded its true place among the more human letters. It remains as a standard picture of the times in which he lived, but always the center of interest will be in the human Wesley who wrote the amazing record. As an Oxford undergraduate he was too frail to be an athlete, yet he could hold his own on the tennis court, pull an oar on the river, swim, ride, hunt and walk long distances. In later life one of his intimates speaks of his sportive sallies, another of his witty proverbs, and another says that it was impossible to be in his company long without partaking of his hilarity. He had an inexhaustible fund of stories adapted to all kinds of people and to every occurrence of life. When speaking of any who imagined that religion would make people morose, he said in the pulpit: 'Sour godliness is the devil's religion.'

### Love Affairs and Marriage

At the age of twenty-two Wesley fell in love with Betty Kirkham, but probably her father was responsible for discouraging what might have been a happy marriage. At any rate, under her influence Wesley was led to make an intense and enthusiastic study of William Law, Jeremy Taylor and Thomas à Kempis, and he 'set in earnest upon a new life.' Ten years later he spent nearly two years as a missionary in Georgia, and was thrust into the company of Sophia Christiana Hopkey, whose uncle was the chief magistrate. Wesley suggested marriage to her, but when she refused him he wrote in his private journal that it was 'a narrow escape' yet when, after many delays, she married someone else, he was overcome with grief, and the depression and unrest consequent upon this disappointment were not overcome until he found certitude and peace through conversion in the year 1738. After thirteen years came Wesley's last love affair with Grace Murray, which was thwarted partly by his brother Charles, who disapproved, and who furthered her marriage with one of Wesley's preachers to whom she was previously engaged. In this case also Wesley was

**JOHN WESLEY IN OLD AGE**

No formal portrait gives a better idea of John Wesley's personality than this clever impression of him walking in Edinburgh in 1790 between Dr. James Hamilton and the Rev. Joseph Cole. It was drawn from the life by John Kay.

*Wesley Museum*

grievously disappointed, but in the reaction he married a wealthy widow with four children, who never shared his interests, was jealous of his friendships and tried to ruin his career by tampering with his correspondence. He always failed in his unconscious attempts to dragoon his women friends into the image of his devout and determined mother, and his love affairs came second to his sense of vocation, which in the last resort was grounded in God. Thus the wealth of affection in a singularly intense nature was diverted from a satisfying human love and centered in his converts, who were his children by spiritual adoption. Wesley himself told Henry Moore that the failure of his marriage was 'overruled' in order that he might be the more faithful in the great work to which God had called him.

Twelve years' hard toil and self-discipline intervened between Wesley's 'awakening' under the influence of Betty Kirkham and his evangelical conversion in 1738. Ascetic practices, regular fasts, pious ejaculations, systematic attendance at Holy Communion, combined with incessant 'good works'—the visiting of the poor, the sick and those in prison—earned for the Wesleys and their companions at Oxford the nickname of the Holy Club, the Bible-Moths, or Methodists. When Wesley had thirty pounds a year, he lived on twenty-eight and gave away two; the next year he received sixty pounds, but still lived on twenty-eight and gave away thirty-two; the third year he received ninety pounds and gave away sixty-two; the fourth year he received a hundred and twenty pounds, yet still he lived on twenty-eight and gave to the poor all the rest.

As an Oxford graduate and a fellow of Lincoln College (1726), he already gave promise of a distinguished career within the Church of England, but neither in the opportunities of Holy Orders nor in the activities of the Oxford Methodists did Wesley find satisfaction and inner harmony. His intercourse with the Moravian Brethren on the voyage to America and in Georgia, whence he returned in 1738, convinced him that he had missed the intimate individual communion with God which they knew, and he came to believe that this experience could be acquired instantly in conversion. After a period of constant self-examination and doubt, he went to one of the Church of England religious societies in Aldersgate Street, London, and during the reading by a Moravian elder of Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans he felt a sudden release from strain and at the same moment possessed an intuitive certainty that God loved him and that his sins were forgiven.

His life is witness to the fact that this strange warming of heart, as he called it, fused all the varied forces of his character under the dominant sentiment of love to God, with its necessary corollary of love to man. The intensity and joy of his conversion are the key to the whole of his subsequent career; he lived to proclaim to all men the possibility of a spiritual new birth.

Seeking for light and guidance, Wesley visited the Moravian settlement at Herrnhut, and on his return a Pentecostal moment in a love-feast at Fetter Lane confirmed the idea in the mind of the Wesleys and Whitefield and their colleagues that they were called to take up an almost immeasurable task (1739). Whitefield commenced preaching the new doctrine of conversion and assurance in Bristol, and after being forbidden to preach in the London churches Wesley followed Whitefield's example and took up the work in Bristol, proclaiming the truth to immense crowds in the open air. With extraordinary rapidity the movement spread.

Our last word must be of John Wesley. It is impossible to study the documents which tell of his life and work without being at once humbled and exalted by the sheer greatness of his moral and spiritual stature. He claimed England again for God and made the whole world his parish during a campaign which lasted fifty years. Throughout the three kingdoms his journeys on horseback averaged eight thousand miles annually for many a long year, during each of which he rarely preached less than a thousand times. He wrote thousands of letters, and published over a hundred works which brought him a profit of thirty thousand pounds, every penny of which he distributed in charity during his lifetime. 'No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts. No other man did such a

life's work for England.' Yet the Journal presents him to us without any impression of haste. 'I have no time to be in a hurry,' he said. Sure of himself and of his task, he has all the leisure and grace which are the marks of power in reserve.

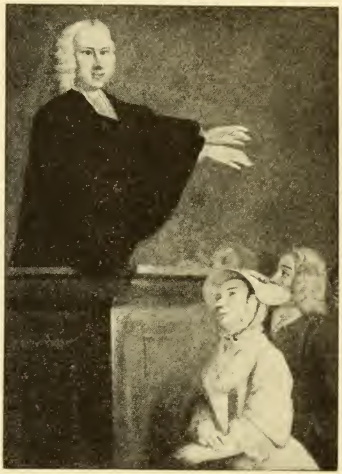
Whitefield lacked the mental discipline which Wesley displayed, but he had greater dramatic gifts; his preaching was passionate and rhetorical, and often overwhelmingly emotional. David Hume, who was not likely to be a sympathetic hearer, said that it was worth going twenty miles to hear Whitefield preach. Although later on he broke with the Wesleys on account of his Calvinistic doctrine, their personal friendship was maintained to the end.

### Potent Influence of Hymn Singing

A WEALTH of religious poetry of the highest order was the greatest contribution of Charles Wesley to the revival. Congregational singing was quite a novelty in Wesley's day, except among some of the Dissenters, and the effect produced by a large crowd joining in songs of faith and prayer was one of the most distinctive features of the Methodist movement. What the converts lacked in creeds and liturgy they were more than compensated for in their hymn-book.

John Wesley was, in many ways, a great and typical Englishman; he certainly possessed the English passion for individual liberty peculiarly combined with a deep sense of the necessity of order. Wesley never preached anywhere unless he saw the possibility of following it up by the formation of a local society, and before long there were hundreds of these societies established all over the country. Intimate comradeship brought strength to the new movement, and the converts were less likely to find their vision fade into the light of common day when they met regularly in 'band' or 'class' meetings, and by their testimony counselled one another and fanned the flame of spiritual ardor. A strong community spirit gathered around the widening circle of society, circuit and connectional life, until it spread to the colonies and has become in modern Methodism a world-wide religious and social sentiment.

So wide-spread a movement could not be ignored, but the national Church failed in spiritual vision and in administrative wisdom, and Wesley's societies were thrust out to join their potent young forces to those of the Nonconformists. Thus it came to pass that during Wesley's lifetime the number of church-goers who were Nonconformists rose from about a twentieth to somewhere near a half. It must be remembered that Wesley liked the order of the Church, he liked bishops, and he always maintained his attachment to the older



**METHODISM'S FAMOUS PREACHER**

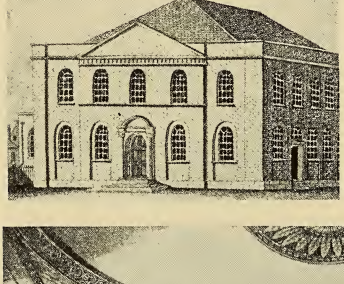
George Whitefield (1714-70), life-long friend of the Wesleys, was one of the founders of the Calvinistic Methodist church. His reputation as a pulpit orator justifies the pose in which John Wollaston placed him for this portrait.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

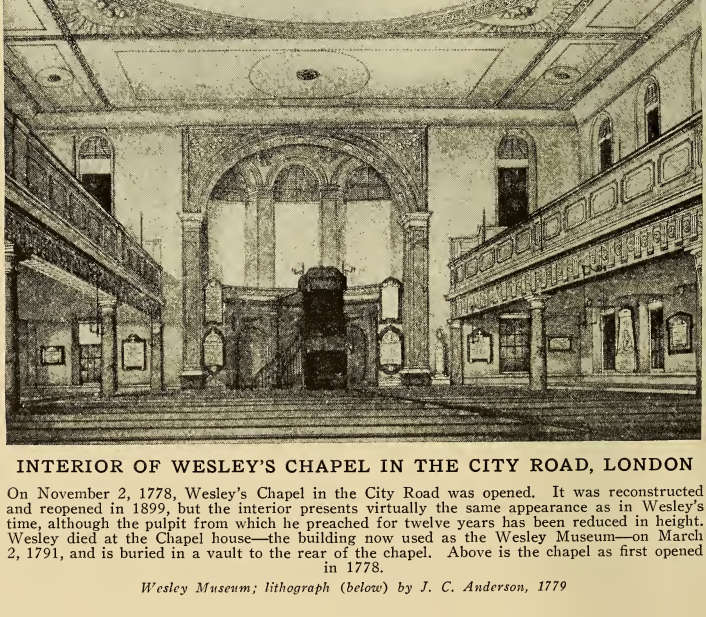
communion; consequently Methodism became a kind of High Church of Dissent, infusing a new spirit into Nonconformity.

The older Dissenting communions responded to the vital influence of the Methodist revival and shared its creative religious experience. When Wesley was born both Baptists and Independents were declining sects and suffered from constant controversy, and many of the moderate Dissenters were still in favor

of inclusion in the national church; it seems probable that but for Methodism Nonconformity in England would have disappeared, with the exception of a few extremists. The immense moral and spiritual values of the revival soon broke down opposition and distrust, and many of the converts found their way into the various dissenting churches, carrying with them the cleansing and invigorating power of a genuine evangelical experience. Wesley not only brought a wealth of higher values and new religious life to Nonconformity, but by direct additions to its ranks and indirect influence upon its spirit he raised it from declension and decay and made it the representative church of half the nation in England, and of a vastly larger proportion of the people in America.



Elie Halévy, who has devoted lifelong study to nineteenth-century England, traces the stability of modern England to a psychological root in the individual stability produced by the Methodist Revival. But for this, he says, the economic iniquities of the Industrial Revolution would have led to anarchy, and the French Revolution would have had its counterpart in England. Simi-



**INTERIOR OF WESLEY'S CHAPEL IN THE CITY ROAD, LONDON**

On November 2, 1778, Wesley's Chapel in the City Road was opened. It was reconstructed and reopened in 1899, but the interior presents virtually the same appearance as in Wesley's time, although the pulpit from which he preached for twelve years has been reduced in height. Wesley died at the Chapel house—the building now used as the Wesley Museum—on March 2, 1791, and is buried in a vault to the rear of the chapel. Above is the chapel as first opened in 1778.

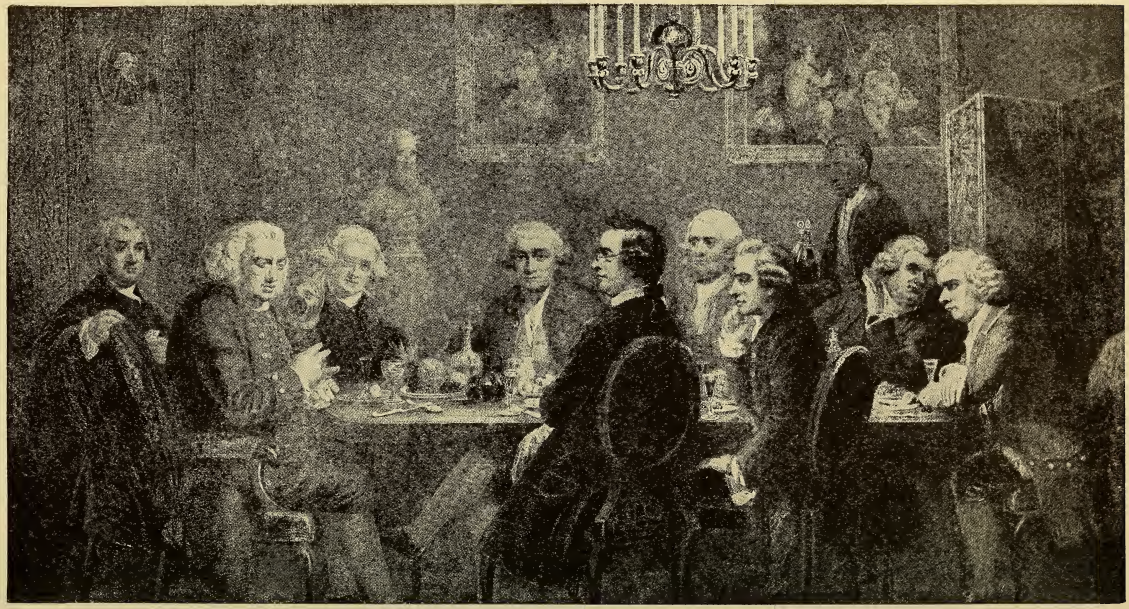
*Wesley Museum; lithograph (below) by J. C. Anderson, 1779*

larly, he shows how events so diverse as the Electoral Reform Act of 1832, the early factory acts and the abolition of slavery in the British colonies owed their inception to the direct work of evangelical leaders, or their place on the statute book to the unrecognized but dominating evangelical or center party in politics. It may be that Methodism shared the humanitarian impulse, the passionate sympathy with human suffering which swept over western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century; but it is also incontrovertible that the social implications of the evangelical experience sent the stirrings of new life wherever the English language was spoken, and by means of its missionaries throughout the whole commonwealth of men. In the immediate experience of God, which is the heart of evangelicalism, is found the secret of stability and of social righteousness, for in the high moment of conversion are found at the same time harmony of life within and adaptation to life without. 'Peace with God' is always identified with 'love to man.' Here is the root of Methodism.

### Wesley's Journal and Cipher Diary

THE charm of Wesley's personality and the secret of his life are revealed in his Journal, and even more intimately and completely in his private cipher diary which was made public in the standard edition of the Journal. There we learn that his early resolve 'to dedicate an hour, morning and evening; no excuse, reason, or pretence,' to private prayer and communion with God, was almost literally carried out from the beginning to the end of his crowded life. But this was not enough if the happy confidence in God of his conversion experience was to endure to the end. From his diary we learn that in every hour he spent five minutes, sometimes a minute more or less, in secret prayer. If illness or other circumstance interrupted these devotions, they were speedily resumed with a regularity like that of his meat and drink. In facing angry and hostile mobs, or in facing his lifelong task of 'spreading Scriptural holiness throughout the land,' Wesley was sustained by the reality of his communion with God.

When all the historical facts relating to Methodism have been considered, and when Wesley's temperament and training and gifts have been weighed, his self-discipline, his cool and balanced judgement, his sure instinct for fact and his passionate purity and devotion to his task, we are compelled to recognize in the story of the Methodist revival the very grace and might of the Eternal.



**BRILLIANT GATHERING AT A PARTY GIVEN BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS**

The great master of portraiture, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92) was exceedingly popular in the best society of the period and numbered many celebrities among his friends. This engraving after James Doyle's painting shows the distinguished assembly at a party given by Reynolds (third from left). Next to him, at the head of the table, sits his intimate friend, Doctor Johnson, with faithful Boswell watching behind him. David Garrick, the famous actor, is on his host's left hand with Pasquale Paoli by him. Warton murmurs an aside to Goldsmith at the other end of the table. Edmund Burke, bespectacled, and Burney, on his right, listen earnestly to Johnson's outpourings.

# ENGLISH LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

SOCIETY FROM THE COURT DOWNWARDS WATCHED AT ITS OCCUPATIONS AND DIVERSIONS IN AN AGE OF TRANSITION

ARTHUR J. IRELAND

*Author of 'Episodes in the History of England,' etc.*

With the dawn of the eighteenth century there began a period of growth and change in England for which no parallel can be found in all the twelve centuries that had elapsed since Roman Britain became Saxon England; and this period, although it was eclipsed in some respects by the developments which occurred in the nineteenth century, still remains the most remarkable era of transition in the history of the country.

The broad generalization that this period was a most important age in the history of England can easily be verified from the memoirs of the notable characters who flourished under Queen Anne and the first three Georges. The student should also turn to the entertaining and illuminating pages of "The Spectator," "The Tatler" and "The Rambler" and read there the contemporary writings of the inimitable Fanny Burney, who is perhaps better known as Madame d'Arblay, and of that prince of gossips, Horace Walpole—not omitting the sardonic comments of Jonathan Swift and the mordant criticisms of Lord Hervey; while first among the books that should claim attention is James Boswell's "Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson," which is not only the most remarkable biography in the language, but also paints a very accurate picture of the social conditions in England during the later years of the period under consideration.

Very often avowed fiction depicts more truly than alleged fact the manners and the customs of an age, and no history contains a more faithful, a more entertaining or a more intimate picture of the time than will be found in "Evelina," by Fanny Burney; while Fielding, Smollet and Richardson may also be taken as trustworthy guides.

Among the dramatists, pride of place must be given to two Irishmen, Goldsmith and Sheridan; but "Mr. John Gay," as he liked to be called, must not be omitted.

Little need be said about the poets of the period, but the artists are of more moment; one need only refer to the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough and George Romney—with which must be coupled the brilliant social satires of William Hogarth and the biting caricatures of James Gillray.

Orators of dazzling ability were plentiful, for during the one century the country heard Edmund Burke, the elder and the younger Pitt and Charles James Fox—to mention but four of the greatest names. Great statesmen were almost as common as great orators, for it was governed by Sir Robert Walpole, Halifax, Somers, Oxford, Bolingbroke, the Pelhams and the Rockinghams.

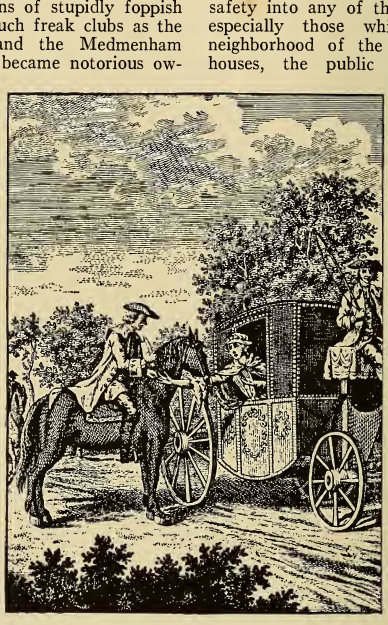
On the stage it saw David Garrick, Sarah Siddons and Peg Woffington. Among its soldiers were John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, James Wolfe and Robert Clive. Its navy was led by such men as Anson, Hawke and Nelson. Its preachers among the orthodox clergy were Sacheverell, Burnet and Wilberforce; while the Nonconformists were led by John Wesley and by George Whitefield. Most notable of its explorers was James Cook, whose voyages led to the colonization of Australia and New Zealand; and closely allied with the actual explorers may be mentioned Warren Hastings, the great British proconsul in India.

Apart from the really great names of the century, a peculiarly characteristic type was the very "fine gentleman" called a "beau," who devoted an inordinate amount of time to the attiring of his person and set the fashion at the

popular watering-places. It was the influence of the professional beau that produced many of the recklessly extravagant societies, or fellowships, of which the Maĉaronis, the Bloods and the Corinthians are examples. Moreover, out of these associations of stupidly foppish young men grew such freak clubs as the Hell Fire Club and the Medmenham Brotherhood, that became notorious owing to the riotous excesses of every kind in which their members indulged.

NEARLY equally characteristic were the daring outlaws who infested the high seas and the highways, making both unsafe for the honest traveller. In reality, the "gentlemen of the road" were a sorry lot of scoundrels; but they were picturesque figures, though not nearly as romantic as the writers of fiction have made them appear. On the other hand, there is very little that can be said in extenuation of the methods employed by the pirates, although the honest smugglers who "ran" into the country cargoes of contraband wines, silks and laces under the very noses of the revenue men were certainly rather attractive and very daring devils.

Even the streets of London, which was by far the largest town in England, were extremely unsafe for pedestrians in the eighteenth century. Footpads, pickpockets, cutpurses and common thieves abounded, and carried on their trade even in broad daylight; while at night bad characters of the worst type—including kidnappers, bullies and cutthroats—made even the more frequented thoroughfares places to be avoided. Few men, and no woman, could venture with safety into any of the quieter streets—especially those which were in the neighborhood of the clubs, the coffee-houses, the public gardens and the theaters.



A BLACKGUARD OF THE ROAD

Evidence of the ruthless attitude of highwaymen towards their victims is supplied by this engraving representing one Raby in the act of cutting off a lady's finger to obtain a ring which he cannot wrench off.

*From 'The Newgate Calendar'*

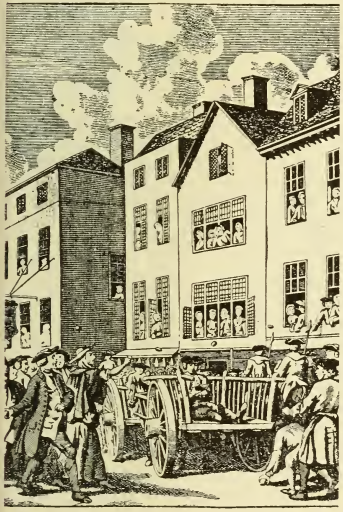
IT was customary for gentlemen to sally forth armed and in parties; but those who had no friends to bear them company, and could not afford to employ a lackey, were thankful to hire the protection of a sturdy ruffian armed with a stout cudgel. Skull-cracking, as a prelude to robbery, was a fine art; for although theft, with or without violence, of anything above the value of five shillings was a capital offense punishable by death at Tyburn, murder was a more serious crime and was shunned when possible.

Ladies who ventured out after dark, bound for a ball or a rout or a fête or the play, travelled either in sedan chairs or in great lumbering coaches, escorted by armed cavaliers and guarded by trusty menservants who were also fully prepared to face all the chances of the common way.

Another type of criminal common in the eighteenth century was the highly accomplished shoplifter. It was known

that some of the aristocracy of the profession made a comfortable income at the expense of honest shopkeepers; for they had no difficulty in disposing of the stolen property through the medium of known "fences"—a name which has survived. Some of these rogues eluded capture for many years, although their occupations were known to the authorities; but eventually most of them came to a tragic end—either on the gallows, or as convicts who were transported to the American plantations, and later to Botany Bay in Australia.

But violence, after all, was no more typical of this age than of its predecessors. More characteristic was a class of women that grew up in a society where it was fashionable for ladies of gentle birth to have "come-overs," "declines" and "swoons" upon every possible occasion—especially when receiving a proposal of marriage or upon beholding a mouse. These were the highly educated women who, despising the weaknesses of their sex, were not content to sit in a corner either playing cards for high stakes or talking babies, servants and scandal, while their menfolk, who were supposed to be discussing the great affairs of state, were really sleeping off, either on their chairs or under the dinner table, the effects of heady punch and port wine.



END OF A CRIMINAL CAREER

By organizing robberies, pretending to be a detective and restoring stolen goods to their owners for large fees, Jonathan Wild prospered greatly. Finally apprehended and pelted by an irate mob he was hanged at Tyburn in 1725.

*From 'The Malefactors' Register*

MRS. THRALE AND DR. JOHNSON

Mrs. Thrale was the wife of a wealthy brewer and, with her husband, rejoiced in the friendship of Dr. Johnson. The lexicographer was a frequent visitor at Brewery House, Southwark, where, in this drawing by Isaac Cruikshank, he is seen at breakfast in conversation with his hostess.

*A. M. Broadley, 'Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale,' John Lane*

The salon in England never flourished as it flourished in Paris; but the English ladies were certainly quite as brilliant as their French neighbors, and probably more learned. They formed very select little coteries—which Horace Walpole aptly nicknamed "petticoteries"—and were generally known as the "bluestock-

ings," a name that was said to have been derived from the charming but impecunious Benjamin Stillingfleet, who, not being able to afford the conventional black silk stockings, asked to be excused from coming to the salon of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu. So much appreciated was his company, however, that the ladies would not allow him to absent himself; and so he was bidden to attend in his everyday stockings, which were made of coarse gray or blue worsted.

Among the more notable of these learned ladies were Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, Fanny Burney, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Mrs. Vesey, Mrs. Delany, Mrs. Thrale, Hannah More, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Mrs. Boscawen, all of whom were women of great talent in an age in which well-educated women were exceptional. But they were by no means the only "female freaks," to quote the epithet of a satirical lampoonist of the period; for any reference to the outstanding women of the age would be incomplete if it omitted the names of Mrs. Howard, who was the friend, confidante and correspondent of all the leading literary men at the beginning of the century; of Selina, countess of Huntingdon, the most influential of the early supporters of John Wesley; and Mary Wollstonecraft, whose "Rights of Women" was the forerunner of all the feminist literature.

Such were the more outstanding personalities of the age; after alluding to them it is now possible to tell the story of the eighteenth century as it is revealed by the manners of the people and conditions under which they lived.

According to the generally accepted estimate, the total population of England and Wales in the year 1700 was about 5,500,000. During the early years of the eighteenth century the rural population far outnumbered the urban population, but during the later portion of it the balance was gradually redressed, until the towns became crowded haunts of humanity and the country districts were left almost depopulated wildernesses.

WITHOUT entering into details it may be said that the primary cause of the change was what is known as the

AGRICULTURAL LABORERS OF HANOVERIAN ENGLAND

The Industrial Revolution and the enclosure movement profoundly altered the complexion of life for the simple tiller of soil. The one lured him to the factories of overcrowded towns; the other took away his independence and ancient rights. The laborers seen in this picture, painted and engraved in 1798 by George Stubbs (1724-1806), noted for his portrayal of rustics and animals, still go about their wonted tasks, but their expressions do not suggest contentment and satisfaction.

*British Museum*

"enclosure movement"—a movement which deprived the independent yeoman peasantry of their ancient rights as freeholders, in order that the estates and farms of those who already had more than enough to supply their wants might be increased.

It has been said, it is true, that the enclosure movement was beneficial to the country, because, owing to the greater wealth of the new class of landowners, who could afford to till the soil better and to fertilize it more extensively, the cultivated areas yielded a larger harvest per acre than the old small-holdings had done. This argument is prejudiced, for by driving away from the countryside thousands of men, with their wives and their children, the self-respecting independence of the many—even though it was but a straitened independence—was sacrificed to the enriching of the few.

These men, who had been the owners of the strips of land which provided them and their families with the necessaries of life, possessed the instinctive lore of the land that they had inherited from innumerable generations of ancestors, who had been tillers of the soil from time immemorial. They were poor, but they were their own masters. They had their quota of tillage land, which was planned on the old "open field" system, and on these freeholdings they could grow their own wheat and their own potatoes and other vegetables. They had also grazing rights upon the common pastures; and there they could feed one or two cows, a few sheep and a few pigs. Their wives had their poultry yards, their bees, their dairies and their little flower-gardens, while many of them had their own spinning-wheels and hand-looms. In many cases the freeholders had certain fishing and shooting rights, which enabled them to give a pleasing and healthful variety to their otherwise monotonous dietary.

SUFFERINGS OF FACTORY CHILDREN

The appalling conditions and brutal treatment endured by child victims of the iniquitous factory system are the subject of this cartoon, one of a series by Robert Cruikshank entitled 'English Factory Slaves.' It shows the unhappy children shrinking beneath the threats and blows of bullying overseers. Note the reference to Peel's mill-owning origin.

*From Phillips and Tomkinson, 'English Women in Life and Letters.' O.U.*

THIS was all taken away from them by the operation of the enclosure movement; and the men who had been freeholders were reduced to the position of hired laborers, whose services were requited by a pittance which barely kept body and soul together. Men and women who had been accustomed to eat the food that they had produced, and to wear clothes that were made of cloth which had been spun and woven from the fleeces of their own sheep, had to buy everything they wanted; and the garments that they had to wear were made of shoddy, as that was the only material they could afford.

If they rebelled, and declined to accept the wages that they were offered, what was the alternative? They might, perhaps, have been able to remain in their little homes, where they would have

starved; but the probability was—and this was what happened—that the majority would be driven into the already overcrowded towns, where they would receive little more than a starvation wage as unskilled workers. Here the huge factories which arose, mushroom-like, to cope with the new conditions were as insanitary as they were hideous—ill ventilated and overcrowded—and in these terrible places men, women and children were herded together under conditions that almost defy description in decent language. The women, naturally, suffered more than the men; but the unhappy children were the real victims of the new industrialism.

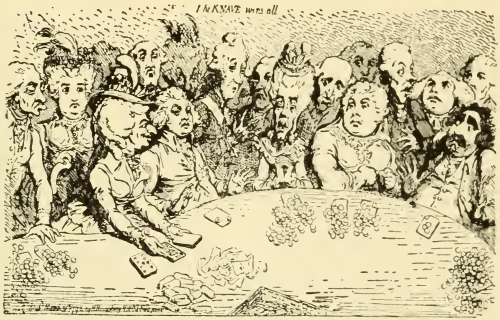
These changes were further accentuated by another and very significant enterprise that was closely allied with the growth of industrialism—namely, the rapid development of the coal-mining industry which occurred at the same time, having been stimulated by the need for power to drive the machinery that was being so widely adopted.

Both these great causes, coupled with many which were of minor importance, were effecting a complete transformation in the appearance of the country. Small towns suddenly expanded into huge industrial centers, many of which had been very little more than villages when the Industrial Revolution began; and villages grew with amazing

HUMAN RIFF-RAFF AT A COCK-FIGHT

William Hogarth's moral indignation at vice is expressed in all his studies of contemporary life. In this engraving, 'The Cockpit,' published in 1759, the artist relentlessly reveals greed and cruelty on the faces of all present, including the central figure, who actually was blind. The scene of the combat was probably the Royal Cockpit, Dartmouth Street, London destroyed in 1816. The oval medallion at the foot of the plate containing a crowing cock represents the ticket of admission to a cock-fight.

rapidity into towns in some districts, while in others they were deserted. Quick building was an urgent necessity, and it was carried out at the expense of good workmanship; for before long the hastily erected residential quarters of the towns which grew up around the factories began to deteriorate, and eventually sank into squalid slums. It was in these places that the workers were housed; and they had to pay exorbitant rentals for the most miserable accommodation.




VICTIMS OF THE GAMBLING CRAZE

The passion for gaming, which was a striking feature of this period, infected not only men but women of all ages, and frequently led to ruin. Gillray's cartoon, published in 1792, presents a brilliant study in conflicting expressions at the gaming table and is satirically entitled 'Modern Hospitality.'

In ratio to the growth of congestion in the mushroom industrial towns, the countryside was being depopulated so rapidly that in some districts whole villages were forsaken. The tenantless cottage homes of the people were being left to fall into a ruinous state by the hundred, and the thousands of acres which were being abandoned for agricultural purposes were not used even as pasture land.

In striking and painful contrast to the miserable conditions under which the poor lived were the reckless extravagances and the wild excesses of the idle and the rich; but, happily, midway between these two extremes there were several classes of sound, solid, steady men, whose influence probably saved the country from a terrible catastrophe. With the dire poverty of the downtrodden on the one hand, and with the irresponsible pleasure-seeking of the "quality" on the other, England was blindly drifting towards disaster; and it is, almost certainly, no exaggeration to assert that an upheaval—the revolt of the miserable against their supposed maltreaters—similar to the revolution which rent France asunder was averted in England by the beneficent influence and the sound common sense of the middle classes, composed of the professional men, merchants and traders.

Fashion is like water—it always runs downhill; and thus, when seeking to account for the manners and the customs of the people in any age—and especially when trying to explain their recreations, their foibles and their morals—it is always necessary to ascertain the tone of the court party. The influence of the court of Charles II had almost completely died out during the twenty-six years which elapsed between 1688 and 1714. The courts of King William and Queen Mary and that of Queen Anne were, on the whole, reputable, though dull; but when George, the elector of Hanover, became King George I of England, there was a recrudescence of moral laxity at court and in society.

Even at his worst, however, King George was preferable to his son and successor, George II, whose one redeeming virtue was personal courage. He made everyone about him wretched, and he was miserable himself; for the unhappy Queen Caroline was a martyr, owing to his brutal unkindness and to his gross and open infidelity, and his children were estranged from him owing to his petty tyranny and his meanness.

About the characteristics of George III it is almost impossible to say anything, for he changed greatly during the later years of his long reign—a reign during which a tremendous silent revolution

took place in England. As a man he was, happily, very unlike his grandfather and his great-grandfather, and his court was a model of dull propriety.

One thing there was which endeared George III to his English subjects more than anything else—that by birth and by education as well as by taste he was an Englishman; whereas his grandfather and his great-grandfather were Germans, who detested the English and never understood them.

The little paragraph which George III inserted in his own handwriting into his first speech from the throne, in the year 1760, gives a fairly accurate insight into the king's feelings and aspirations. He wrote the paragraph reproduced below.

+ Born & Educated in this Country I glory in the Name of Britain, & the peculiar happiness of my Life will ever consist in promoting the Welfare of a people, whose Loyalty & warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest & most permanent Security of my Throne.

When the king lost his reason he was loved by his subjects more warmly than he had ever been loved when he was sane; and it is probably no exaggeration to say that the dissolute regency of George Prince of Wales, who was commonly called The First Gentleman in Europe, was tolerated for the sake of the old king. Nevertheless, when the long reign ended in the year 1820, and the regent became king as George IV, he was a popular monarch.

Thus it will be seen that during the course of the century court influence and court example changed very much; but throughout the whole of the period there ran a streak of hypocrisy, which accounts for the surface polish of a rather sordid society.

COURT influence was not to be escaped; and, consequently, those vices which had scintillated in the time of Charles II became heavy and boorish under the first two Georges. Moreover, to them were added others which showed that the moral sense of the "persons of quality"—using the word "moral" in its widest meaning—had become deadened. That this is true is irrefutably proved by the nature of the popular recreations and of the so-called sports; for little can be said in defence of people who enjoyed watching either dumb creatures tearing each other to pieces, or men fighting with naked fists until their faces had been battered out of recognition.

Cruel sports, indeed, had flourished in earlier times, but there was a refinement of cruelty about the way in which the eighteenth-century bucks, macaronis, Corinthians and mohocks gloated over the cock-fighting, the dog-fighting, the bear-baiting and the bull-baiting, which were as popular as the coursing and the prize-fights—contests in which the combatants often fought for two or three hours.

Other sports and pastimes were horse-racing, foxhunting, driving contests, shooting and fishing; while towards the end of the century cricket began to win wide popularity. Football of a kind was also played, and the greatest day of the year in the football world was Shrove Tuesday, when village met rival village in mortal combat.

SPORTS and pastimes may be symptomatic of robust health and of a desire for laudable competition, but at the time under review this was not always so. They were an excuse for gambling and for many absurd wagers, and often the sums which were staked led to the ruin and to the death of the reckless patrons of horse-racing and games of chance. One of the most regrettable features of the sports of the time was the way in which the more unscrupulous attempted to secure success, for the maiming and the doping of horses were practised as fine arts. Moreover, upon events such as a prize-fight, where thousands of guineas might be at stake, the combatants received only very small rewards.

It hardly seems worth while to sustain

a broken jaw, a smashed nose, closed eyes or even worse injuries for the paltry sum of five guineas or even fifty guineas. The modern boxer of championship status for such a "purse" would not face an opponent with gloves for twenty rounds; but for those sums—and even for less—the hardy old eighteenth-century "pug" was well content to be pounded for sixty or eighty rounds, and he thought himself well treated if his "patron of the fancy" supplemented the purse by laying a wager of a few guineas on his behalf.

As the century progressed, many changes took place in the life which was led by the young men of the day, but to the very end of the period the typical men of fashion remained reckless, extravagant and irresponsible. They would wager their inheritance upon the turn of a card, and they would bet heavily upon the most absurd things. It was quite good enough, for example, to lay a wager upon whether a well-known character would be wearing a brown suit when next he was seen by either of the parties to the bet, upon whether the fighting-cock of some friend would recover from the croup, or upon which of two celebrated belles would be married first.

Foolish, reckless, mad perhaps, these eighteenth-century men were yet gentlemen who knew how to lose. The man who had lost the home of his fathers upon the turn of a card would steady himself, scarcely change color, rise from the table and walk out of the room with his head in the air; and he would pay the debt—even though he might afterwards blow out his brains. Suicide was a thing that happened very often during this extraordinary period as the result of heavy betting; and wild extravagance was not confined to the young men, for the old gamblers were the most inveterate and the most reckless of the time.

TYPES OF CLERGY IN AN IRRELIGIOUS AGE

The eighteenth-century English clergy became a byword for their worldliness, as simony and pluralism were rife among them. The corpulent Master Parson in the caricature on the left is typical of the prosperous self-complacency of countless divines. Yet in this age, as in Chaucer's, could be found poor, conscientious clergy like the hard-working curate seen in a sympathetic study on the right, a Journeyman Parson, who makes the long visiting round of his country parish on horseback.

*British Museum*

A GAINSBOROUGH LADY

Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88), one of England's greatest portraitists, made this charming drawing of a lady walking in the Mall. His approval of the large picture hat of the period is shown by its appearance in many of his works.
*British Museum*

Staid statesmen bet as heavily and as madly as the raw striplings; and the insidious disease spread to the women—infecting alike the aged dowager whose wrinkled face was covered with powder, paint and patches, and the young girl who was just entering upon life. Among the women gamblers the greatest tragedy was that many of them paid the debts which they could not meet in cash by the sacrifice of their honor.

Immense numbers of the clergy in the orthodox Church led just as dissipated lives as the worst rakes of the day. Those who were fortunate enough to have influential friends secured several "fat" livings, in none of which they officiated as parish priests; and this plurality of livings, as it was called, led to many grave abuses, including the scarcely concealed purchase of livings by men of means, who, while enjoying themselves in London or at one of the fashionable spas, left their numerous parishes in the care of permanent curates-in-charge, who received a fraction—a very small one—of the revenue from the living. Moreover, there were ornaments of the bench of bishops who had secured their appointments by the most questionable means.

There is nothing to be said against the open-air, manly parson; but the "sporting parson," who could ride neck-and-neck across country with the finest horseman behind a pack of hounds, drink glass for glass—even bottle for bottle—with the most notorious toper in the district, and was seen at the ring-side whenever a "main of cocks" was taking place, when a bull or a bear was being baited or when two men were pounding one another to

FASHIONABLE MAN ABOUT TOWN

Gillray's cartoon of a man about town ogling a pretty carrot-seller at the corner of New Bond Street satirizes the habits of the dandies of the time. The inscription indicates that it was directed primarily against Lord Sandwich.

FASHIONS UNDER GEORGE III

Center: 'One of the Macaronis'; on his left a female Macaroni, from Darby's prints, about 1773. Right: A print by Gillray, 1792, entitled 'A Spencer and a Threadpaper.'

a jelly, was not likely to be inspiring as a spiritual guide. Yet parsons of this type were by no means uncommon, and the more popular among them were familiar figures at the gaming-tables.

Such men might harangue their congregations for an hour or two hours on end—their sermons being divided under headings from "firstly" to "tenthly," or even "twelfthly," preceding the "lastly" and the "and now in conclusion"; but their words carried no weight. It was, indeed, the fearful apathy and the ungodliness—or ungoodliness—of the ministers of the eighteenth-century Church of England that made it possible for such men as John Wesley and George Whitefield to secure first a hearing and then a large band of followers. Simple people, who stood in mortal dread of eternal punishment, turned with avidity—hungry and thirsty—from the men who did not even pretend to practise what they preached to the teachers who obviously were profoundly in earnest.

London was then the greatest mart in England, as it had been for centuries; and it was there that the rich, hard-working, shrewd, far-seeing merchants were established. They congregated in certain quarters of the city, according to the trades in which they were engaged—the tea merchants in one place, the goldsmiths and silversmiths in another, the leather tanners elsewhere, and so on.

The merchant lived over his place of business, working early and late to extend his trade and to augment his fortune. He was a very worthy person, who set an example of industry and of probity to many who considered him beneath their notice; and even his quiet, rather sombre dress—which was made of excellent fine cloth of a dark color—was an indication of his character. Closely allied to the merchants were the more serious professional men, such as the doctors and the lawyers, who could be recognized wherever they were seen by the style of their dress.

The women of the period, who were scarcely more gaily dressed than the men, were also easily distinguishable into classes. It was easy to tell at a glance the wife of the merchant, of the doctor or of the lawyer; and in their simple, full and flowered petticoats, with a modest corsage and a heavily flounced overskirt, they were more comely than most of the over-dressed but under-clad society ladies.

One thing that distinguished the women of the various classes was their head-dress. Fashion decreed that the society dame should wear her hair, which was supplemented by quantities of powdered tresses purchased from the coiffeur,

built into an extraordinary shape and towering far above her head. On the top of this tremendous structure was worn the most ridiculous little hat, which was perched at a rakish angle.

In contrast to these absurdities was the simple head-dress of the wives of the merchants and the professional men, for they were content to dress their own hair prettily, and to go abroad either in curiosity-arousing poke-bonnets, or in fascinating mob-caps made of the finest muslin and trimmed with frills of lace.

Among the excesses of the period, drinking was a very good second to gambling. Indeed, it may almost be said that they ran a neck and neck race which ended in a dead heat. This was the age in which men, irrespective of their years or of their occupations, consistently and deliberately got drunk; and they were not ashamed of the fact.

This was the age in which the two-bottle man—that is, the man who could drink two bottles of port wine at a sitting—was regarded as being only less of a good fellow than the three-bottle man; and it was also the age in which a touchy gentleman was ready to fight a duel upon any convenient pretext—for example, a doubt expressed that his lady's eyebrows were less arched or less beautiful than those of a rival, or her foot less shapely. There were instances of duels being fought across the dinner table, after the ladies had withdrawn, by combatants who were far from sober; and in a good many old family homes a bullet-hole in the oak panelling of the dining-room still bears testimony to these encounters.

Neverthless, although his life was spent in a round of trivial if not pernicious pursuits, there was something attractive about the eighteenth-century man of fashion. With his gay attire, his massive Malacca or ebony walking-stick—above all, with his snuff-box, which he managed to perfection, and with his quizzing-glass, through which he peered insolently at every pretty face—he was an arresting figure; while the uselessness of his life, and even his dandyism, may be forgiven when it is remembered that he was seldom cowardly in the face of danger.

A typical man of fashion of the beau order rose at about nine o'clock in the morning, and, having submitted himself to the ministrations of his barber and of his wig-maker, he partook of a cup of chocolate and a morsel of dry toast be-

EXAGGERATED FASHIONS OF 18th-CENTURY ENGLAND

Right: A group of people wearing the most fashionable attire of 1777. Left: Three ladies of 1795, from 'The Gallery of Fashion,' display the popular 'Caroline wrappers,' smock-like garments, with sashes under the armpits.

*British Museum; and (right) from Turberville, 'English Manners of the 18th Century,' Clarendon Press*

fore sallying forth to the Mall, where he was sure to meet the men and the women of his world. A more energetic buck might rise earlier, and go for a ride before sitting down to a substantial breakfast; but, however the first hours of the day were spent, the Mall was the great meeting-place of the society men and women of the time, for there even the king and the queen, accompanied by their children, and with but a small escort of Yeomen of the Guard, might be met strolling under the trees, and quite ready to chat informally with their people. Sparkling conversation—and conversation then was extremely brilliant, if somewhat vacuous—and the latest titbits of scandal whiled away the time, until the crowd dispersed for refreshment and further conversation to the various coffee-houses and chocolate-houses.

CONVIVIALIST CLUB MEETING

Members of every class patronized the convivial clubs which flourished during the eighteenth century, and in Gillray's caricature, 'Anacreonticks in Full Song,' a tolerably representative group waxes hilarious amid overflowing glasses and empty bottles. Such an assembly promoted deliberate drunkenness.

TYPE OF MAN PRODUCED BY THE EXCESSES OF THE AGE

Gout, the penalty paid for excessive consumption of port, has attacked this pompous old earl, one of the figures in Hogarth's engraving, 'The Marriage Contract,' satirizing the vices of contemporary society.

These places were extremely characteristic of the age, for each had its staunch supporters, all of whom were attracted to the particular house by some common interest. It might be politics, the arts or commerce that made the bond; but, whatever it was, while sipping their chocolate they could spend an hour or two pleasantly before turning homewards for dinner, which was served at about three o'clock in the afternoon. Dinner was a serious affair, which accounted for an hour or two hours, or until it was time to dress for the real business of the day—the pleasures of the evening. The hairdresser and the valet of the true man of fashion were then kept busy for an hour or more

while they were making the toilet of their employer. Every detail of his attire was considered with an amount of gravity that was worthy of the tremendous decisions that were being made, for the slightest discord in the blending of colors would have been quite enough to ruin the temper and the pleasure of any gentleman who took a proper pride in his appearance, while a tactless suggestion would have meant a thrashing for the offending valet.

MARRIAGE AS HOGARTH SAW IT

In his series of paintings entitled 'Marriage à la Mode,' Hogarth gives a vivid impression of married misery in the upper classes. The husband in this breakfast scene (engraved by the painter) sprawls dejectedly after returning from a night of debauch, while his wife yawns after equally protracted revels at home.

GORGEOUSLY arrayed, the beau would sally forth, either on foot or in a chaise, for the theater or for the club. If he were going to the play, he would have to be ready by six o'clock, or thereabouts; and when Mr. David Garrick, Mrs. Siddons or Mrs. Woffington was appearing in a new piece it would be necessary to be at the door of the theater betimes. At the club, several hours would be spent at the gaming-tables; and the young gambler who sat down as the owner of broad ancestral acres, or of an ample fortune, might rise a ruined man.

IN addition to these serious recreations there were such places of amusement as Vauxhall Gardens and Ranelagh to be visited from time to time; or the man of fashion who liked dancing and female society might be engaged to attend a ball or a rout. After that, at about eleven o'clock at night, it was time for supper, which was always an excuse for much wine-bibbing, to be followed by the playing of games for high stakes. Last of all, in the small hours of the morning, the exhausted reveller was often piloted to bed by the faithful valet whom he had thrashed earlier in the day.

The women in society led very much the same kind of life, but "her ladyship's levée" was a characteristic function that played a comparatively small part in the lives of the men outside the court circle. Having risen late, the lady of fashion placed herself in the capable hands of her maid, by whom she was sponged with scented water and gently coaxed back to an interest in life after the revels of the preceding night. Attired in a becoming négligé garment, madame was then ready for her "levée," to which her intimate friends of both sexes were admitted; and while assembled company sipped chocolate—or perchance, if in a very extravagant mood, partook of a dish of tea—the lady's hair was elaborately dressed and her toilet completed. If she numbered some literary light amongst her friends, the time might be beguiled by listening to the author while he read selections from his latest work; and while he was reading he received the frankest criticisms from his assembled friends.

For the woman of fashion the remainder of her day was the counterpart of that of the men-folk of her world. She did not resort to White's, to Boodle's or to Almack's in order to try her luck at faro or at baccarat; but, either in her own withdrawing-room or at the house

of some friend, she met parties of congenial spirits, who were always ready to play for high stakes. Her day was generally far too fully apportioned to leave much time for the companionship of her husband or of her children; and it was only when the candles began to splutter in their sockets that the tired slave of fashion retired to rest between her lavender-scented sheets.

As for the children of the men and of the women who moved in the great world, they were committed to the care of nurses until they were old enough to be placed under the jurisdiction of tutors or of governesses.

The schools of the period to which boys were sent were very frequently most undesirable places, for the small boys were entirely at the mercy of their fagmasters, who bullied them to such an extent that life became a misery. Elementary education was, on the whole, fairly sound, but the only subjects which were considered to be worthy of careful study in the upper forms were the works of the classical writers of Greece and Rome.

COFFEE-HOUSE POLITICIANS

Coffee-houses were the precursors of the clubs that became such a feature of eighteenth-century life, and individual establishments became associated with particular interests, political, literary, artistic or commercial. They were frequented, for the most part, about noon, for the exchange of news and ideas.

*Engraving of 1733*

It was at this time that the continental tour, which afterwards became an almost indispensable part of a young gentleman's education, began to come into fashion. The boy and his tutor might spend a year or even two years abroad, travelling through France and Italy; and when the "finished" young gentleman returned home he generally possessed a sound colloquial knowledge of French and of Italian. Towards the end of the century there was a very marked improvement in the standard of the schools for boys, and the private enterprises which were so long known as "schools for the sons of gentlemen" began to make their appearance.

Only a passing reference can be made to the education of the girls, for the eighteenth century was a period during which learned women—or even well-educated women—were eyed askance and with suspicion. Girls whose parents allowed them to continue their education after they were about fourteen or fifteen years of age—an age at which daughters were labelled "marriageable," and were frequently betrothed—were committed to the care of some formidable dame, irreverently spoken of as a "dragoness," who presided over a "finishing seminary" for young ladies.

The girls acquired a smattering of "polite accomplishments" (playing upon

the harpsichord, and singing perhaps) and a considerable knowledge of French and skill in embroidery; but the most characteristic items of instruction in the seminaries were deportment and correct behavior in society.

Orthography was not a subject that was well taught at these finishing seminaries, and the eighteenth-century ladies, in consequence, could not spell even passably.

Still, as the girl who was not married —or at the least betrothed—by the time she had reached the age of eighteen was regarded as a social failure, her mental shortcomings were matters of but little account, especially as only very exceptional husbands desired educated wives. Nevertheless, with all the faults of the system of education, there were many brilliant women in the eighteenth century, for neglect did not stifle the genius of such women as Fanny Burney, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the other members of the blue-stocking coteries.

Special emphasis has been laid upon the light and the flippant aspects of the life of the time, because in a very artificial age these were the most striking characteristics of the modish world. They extended even to the homes of the men and the women who composed the society of the day, and they were revealed in the furnishing of the houses, as well as in the relations that existed between their occupants. What are commonly called idyllic marriages there were —unions that were based upon the only feeling that is calculated to stand the stress and the strain of daily intercourse; but even in most of these the influence of the home was not strong enough to prevent the men from living as their contemporaries lived—eating, drinking and gambling to excess.

On the other hand, marriage rarely in-

HER LADYSHIP'S LEVEE IN GEORGIAN LONDON

Fashionable women received their friends, of both sexes, in their bedrooms, and regaled them with chocolate, music and scandal while passing through the completing stages of their toilet. In this fourth plate of his pictorial novel 'Marriage à la Mode,' William Hogarth minutely records all the details of such a levee: the great lady in her peignoir, coquetting with her admirer lounging near, while her valet curls her hair; and around her a crowd of musicians vapid fribbles and negro servants.

*Engraved by S. Ravener*

duced the women to forgo the pleasures and the excitements of the social world in which they moved, and even the claims of motherhood, although large families were very common in the eighteenth century, exercised little more influence than matrimony over them. The true explanation of this state of affairs was probably that marriages were very seldom based upon mutual love and respect. More often than not they were marriages of convenience, inspired by the desirability of uniting adjoining properties, or by the equally powerful attraction of money; and even when a "delightfully romantic elopement" took place, it was more often inspired by caprice, or by a desire to escape from the constraint of an unhappy home, than by true affection.

All things considered, appearances were kept up wonderfully. But the dwellings in which the ill-assorted couples lived were prisons rather than homes, in spite of the beauty of their Chippendale, their Sheraton or their Hepplewhite furniture; and from this state of bondage there was no escape while life lasted, for to obtain the dissolution of a marriage was such a costly affair that liberation was regarded as a luxury reserved for the very rich, apart altogether from the stigma that divorce entailed.

Happily, by far the greater number of the people were hard-working men, who earned their livelihood either by the exercise of some profession or by engaging in commerce or business. The strength of England lay in the counting-houses and in the offices of London, and of the other great towns; and the stability of the country was truly reflected in the solid comfort that prevailed in the homes of the well-to-do middle classes. There life was regarded as a serious business, entailing a great deal of hard work and self-denial; but the merchant and the tradesman, no less than the professional man, knew how to enjoy themselves sanely and thoroughly. Their homes were havens of rest; and the contentment that was earned by honest toil was sensibly enjoyed. The well-being of these people was reflected in their attitude towards their families, and in the morality of those families; and it is no exaggeration to say that the most valuable members of the community—the men and the women who preserved the sanity of the nation in an otherwise irresponsible age—were the people who do not appear at all in the memoirs or in the stories of the time.

PAINFUL WAYS OF LEARNING

Education was at a low ebb throughout England in the early eighteenth century, and even in reputable schools for boys the methods of teaching were crude and rather violent. This is how they appeared to Philippe Mercier, a French artist who was then working in England. T. Faber engraved the picture.

What a contrast there was between the town life and the country life of all classes of society during this century! Even the poor in the little rural communities living under the paternal eyes of the squire, the parson and the doctor enjoyed relative luxury; but many of them could no more resist the lure of the cities than the moth can keep away from the flame of the candle that will destroy it. The squire and his family, who seldom travelled farther from their home than the nearest market town, were the dispensers of all good and the source of all wealth. Men and women were born on an estate, and worked there until they died; and although their lot was often

hard, they were generally sure of two things—the interest of the occupants of 'the hall' while they were alive, and a decent interment when death found them still serving the employer for whose father their fathers had worked.

Means of communication were so bad during the early part of the century that there was very little inducement to travel for pleasure; and even at the end of the period the roads were still in a disgraceful state—partly owing to their condition, and partly to their dangers. Except when travelling along the very few great highways, wheeled vehicles bumped abominably even in the best weather; while after heavy rain and in the winter roads became such quagmires that travellers were often bogged up to the axles of their carriages, and had to spend a night out of doors. It was preferable, therefore, to travel on horseback rather than to risk the chances of the way in a lumbering coach; but owing to the robbers who infested the roads few travellers cared to set forth alone upon a journey.

THE THRILL OF ELOPEMENT

In a century when love marriages were exceptional and young people were rarely allowed to arrange their own matrimonial affairs, it was natural that some independent spirits should rebel, and, ignoring parental opposition, elope with one of their own choice. The young couple in this engraving after Morland's picture are effecting a wary escape by moonlight.

Towards the end of the century the roads improved. They were kept in a state of tolerable repair by private enterprise, the cost of maintenance being raised by the turnpike system. A contractor would undertake to maintain a stretch of roadway in good order, provided that he was allowed to erect a certain number of toll gates, at which every traveller would have to pay fees regulated according to the kind of vehicle in which he was travelling. At first the improvements were so great that wayfarers did not grudge the road dues, but eventually tolls became so heavy that a long journey was a very expensive undertaking.

Even the streets of London were in a disgraceful condition. The best of them were paved with large cobble-stones, over which the heavy private coaches lumbered with a terrific rattling and with much shaking; while the worst of them are merely muddy or dusty lanes, according to the state of the weather. The pedestrian in London was often offended by the unsavoury state of the streets, for, disregarding the fines that were imposed, inconsiderate householders continued to throw their refuse into the roadway, where the rubbish lay in heaps until rain or snow transformed it into filthy, slimy, slippery mud.

So bad were the streets of London that even in the eighteenth century the river Thames was still the great highway between the City and Westminster. Revel-

Dr. Johnson observed of his London that "the full tide of existence is at Charing Cross." In his day Northumberland House, seen in this engraving after Canaletto's painting of 1753, stood where Northumberland Avenue now leads to the river. This splendid mansion, surmounted by a lion with outstretched tail, was destroyed in 1874. On the right is the statue of King Charles.

This old engraving of travellers arriving at the Eagle Inn, Strand, gives an excellent view of St. Mary-le-Strand church, built in 1714 by the architect James Gibbs, whose interiors are surpassed only by those of Wren. The church of St. Clement Danes, of which the tower can be seen beyond, was built by Wren in 1681, but its tower, by Gibbs, was added in 1719.

**TWO GLIMPSES OF LONDON IN THE 18TH CENTURY**

*Grace Collection, British Museum*

lers going to the Vauxhall Gardens hired a boat and were ferried across the river; and the "silent highway" was also most generally used between London and Greenwich, and London and Chelsea. The watermen were sturdy fellows, who worked hard; and a small party would be rowed by one man, who used a pair of sculls, while a larger number would engage a big skiff that was rowed by two men, who used oars.

It is strange to think of all the changes that have taken place since those by no means far-off days, for even at the end of the eighteenth century London was a relatively small town, with a population of about seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and Westminster was a separate city. When the century closed, Oxford Street, then known as Tyburn Road, was still lined by trees; west of Hyde Park Corner there was open country, and the road to Kensington was a dangerous highway much infested by footpads; and the sportsman with his gun need have gone no farther afield than St. Marylebone to find hares, and rabbits, and even snipe.

Outside the capital the chief centers of fashionable life were the watering-places, whither the exhausted pursuers of pleasure went to recuperate, or for a "cure"—and to hear the very latest scandal concerning the world in which they moved. Among these places were Tunbridge Wells, known simply as "The Wells," Cheltenham, Scarborough, Weymouth, and, at last but most notable of them all, Bath. Thither society flocked, weary of one round of amusements, but eager to begin afresh amid new surroundings; and no account of the life of the time would be complete without a passing reference to the gaiety—often a rather tragically forced gaiety—which prevailed at Bath in the heyday of its fame. The uncrowned king of Bath was that most exquisite gentleman, Beau Nash, who ruled his subjects with a rod of iron.

Such were the characteristics of the curious society that flourished in the eighteenth century: and, brilliant, dazzling, sordid and selfish as it was, it was a society in which the men and the women who composed it were very much the same as the men and women of all ages have been. There is one respect, however, in which the eighteenth century differed from any that had preceded it—namely, that with its close ended an era which had endured not for a century, but for two thousand years.

PORTRAIT OF A HAPPY FAMILY

In striking contrast with the dissolute, dissatisfied lives led by many society people was the peace and happiness to be found in countless middle-class homes. This painting, Married Life, one of a series by Francis Wheatley, R.A., shows a woman sewing contentedly, with her husband and children beside her.